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THE LIFE AND TIMES

—OF—

Samuel J. Kirkwood,

IOWA'S WAR GOVERNOR,

AND AFTERWARDS A SENATOR OF THE UNITED STATES, AND A MEMBER
OF GARFIELD'S CABINET.

BY H. W. LATHROP,

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DEDICATION.

To the Soldiers of Iowa in the late Civil War, whose valor, courage and fortitude without a stain in camp, on the march and on the battle field, combined with the administration of their chief, the "War Governor," at home, contributed to give to their beloved state a name and a fame that will endure as long as history shall be written, or history shall be read, this work is respectfully inscribed by their friend,

THE AUTHOR.



Yours Truly
S. O. Kirkwood



Mrs S. J. Kirkwood

PREFACE.

My acquaintance with Gov. Kirkwood commenced very soon after he came to the state, and it became somewhat intimate while he was serving his first term in the state senate, during the winters of 1856-7, and where I was acting in the capacity of reporter of proceedings for a local paper and correspondent for a Chicago Daily. During his whole residence in Iowa City I have been associated with him as a neighbor, and have served with him several years on our local school board. Since I have commenced writing his life he has submitted to me all of his correspondence, both public and private, needful for my use, and copies of all public documents in his possession, and he has submitted to frequent and oft repeated interviews during the progress of my work.

In my labor I have been greatly aided by his faithful wife, who has from time to time during his official life, gathered from the public press and other sources and treasured them up, facts relating to him that otherwise would have been lost.

Governor Boies has kindly permitted me the use of the Executive Records made during Governor Kirkwood's gubernatorial administrations.

The manuscript as it has been written from time to time has been submitted to him for his correction and approval.

IOWA CITY, IOWA, June 29th, 1893.



The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood,

IOWA'S WAR GOVERNOR.

CHAPTER I.

Ancestry: Scotch-Irish and Scotch—Robert Kirkwood in the Revolution—With St. Clair on the Wabash—The Kirkwoods as Scholars—Scotch Presbyterians—Jabez a Blacksmith and Farmer—Blacksmithing 100 Years Ago—Farm Tools Then—Family Work—Samuel an Apt Scholar—Goes to Washington to Attend School—Joins a Literary Society—Becomes a School Teacher in Pennsylvania—A Drug Clerk for His Brother Wallace—Kirkwoods Move to Ohio—Settle in the Woods and Make a Farm—Samuel Teaches School Again—Becomes Deputy County Assessor—A Store and Tavern Clerk.

The Kirkwood family in America date back to 1731, when Robert Kirkwood and his widowed sister-in-law with her two children, a son named Robert, three years old, and a sister older emigrated from Londonderry in the north of Ireland, and settled in New Castle, Delaware. Captain Robert Kirkwood, a son of this immigrant Robert, was a Captain in the revolutionary army all through that war; was an active participant in the battles of Princeton and Long Island, and was so distinguished for his eminent services, that the brevet rank of Brigadier General was conferred on him upon the recommendation of Washington. That he should be advanced from a Captaincy to a Brigadier Generalship, without going through the intermediate grades, and that upon the recommendation of his commander in chief, is the best attestation that could be given of his ability, his valor and his worth. He was in the bloody battles of Camden, Hobkirk's Hill, Eutaw Springs and Ninety-Six; and Lee, in his memoirs of the Southern revolutionary campaigns, makes frequent and honorable mention of him.

At the battle of Camden his Delaware regiment was so badly cut up that enough for but one company of it was left

and he had command of it. After the close of the war, in 1789, he moved into eastern Ohio, opposite Wheeling, Va.

In the spring of 1791 the cabin of Capt. Kirkwood was attacked by a party of Indians in the night, but they were repulsed. The cabin was set fire to, the roof was all ablaze, when it was pushed off and the fire quenched with water and milk from the house. Of fourteen soldiers in the house at the time, one was killed and seven wounded.

After this affair, Capt. Kirkwood returned with his family to Newark, Delaware. On his way he met some of St. Clair's troops on their way to Cincinnati. Exasperated at the attack of the Indians upon his house, he took the command of a company of Delaware troops, and was with them at St. Clair's defeat on the Wabash in the fall of 1791, where he fell in an attempt to repel the enemy with the bayonet.

In the year 1759 this three year old boy Robert, had attained his thirty-first year, when he married Jane Henderson, and became the father of six children, five sons—William, John, Robert, Nathaniel and Jabez, and one daughter—Sarah.

Rev. A. B. Cross, compiling in 1886 a history of the Presbyterian church of which the early Kirkwoods were members, mentions eight of them and their descendants as being Elders in the church, three as professors in colleges, one (Samuel J.) as ex-Governor, ex-U. S. Senator and ex-Cabinet Minister, and says: "All these Elders, Preachers, Professors, Lawyers and Politicians are the descendants of that fatherless three year old boy who came to Delaware in 1731. To me there is a peculiar interest in the childhood of that boy. In all my ministry I have been on the most intimate terms with, and have preached to many of the Kirkwood family, and I would not do justice in this notice if I did not say, from a long and intimate knowledge of them, they have been a family that have always been true to

their country and true to their church, with a line of Elders from the beginning in 1731 till now."

It may be said of the early Kirkwoods that they were, and their descendants of to-day are, men of large mental caliber and of great aptitude in the acquisition of knowledge. Among the most noted are *Daniel Kirkwood, LL.D., a lifetime teacher in various schools, and for several years professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in Indiana University, author of "Meteoric Astronomy and the Asteroids between Mars and Jupiter," and a work on Comets and Meteors; and who is quoted as the highest authority on those subjects; Prof. Wm. R. Kirkwood, D.D. of Macallister College, Minn.; and Prof. Samuel J. Kirkwood, LL.D. of the University of Wooster, Ohio.

Such is his reputation as an astronomer, both at home and abroad, that when, in 1875, the great English astronomer Richard Anthony Proctor, visited America, he came west to Indiana on purpose to see his colaborer in astronomical work, Prof. Daniel Kirkwood.

Jabez Kirkwood was an infant son of the revolution being born in that memorable year 1776, and he married for his first wife Mary Coulson, by whom he had two sons, Robert and Coulson, and for his second wife a widow Wallace, whose maiden name was Mary Alexander, by whom he had three sons, John, Wallace and Samuel Jordan. His second wife was born in Scotland.

Robert, the father of Jabez must have been a man of thrift and well to do in the world, as he settled his five sons at their majority, when they were ready to set up business for themselves, each on a good sized farm for that time, that given to Jabez containing 140 acres or more.

Samuel Jordan Kirkwood, son of Jabez, the subject of this memoir, and the youngest in the family, was born on

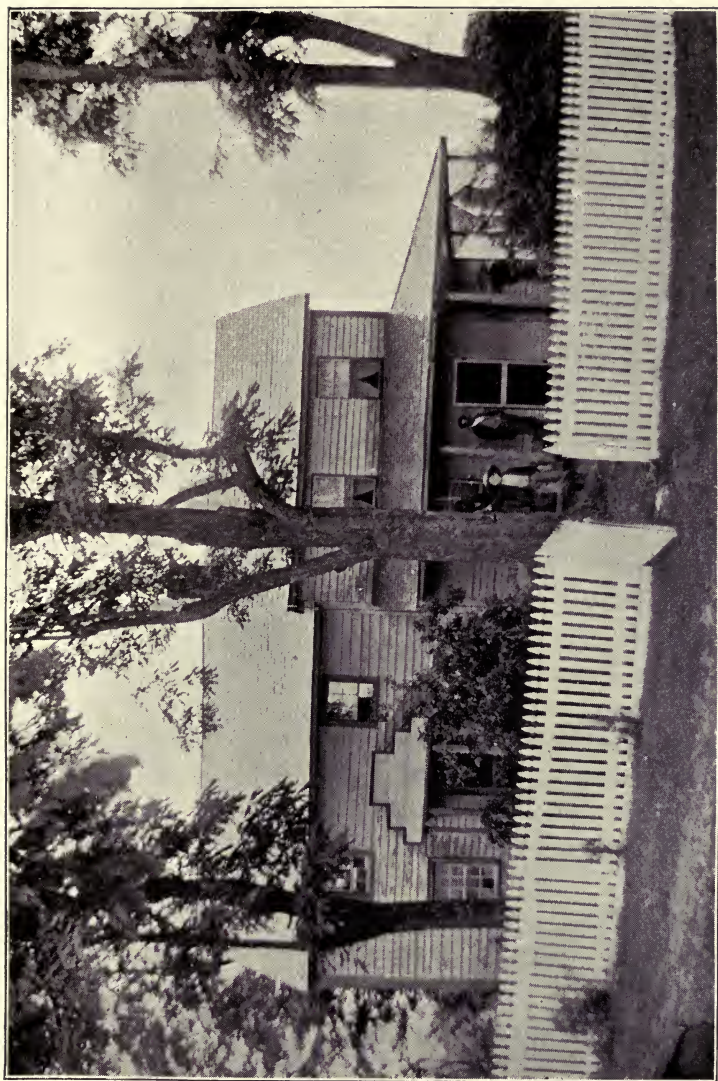
*A cousin of Samuel J. and his pupil when he taught his first term of school.

the 20th of December, 1813, in Harford Co., Md., to which place his ancestors had immigrated from Delaware. As will be seen by the foregoing, his parentage on his father's side was Scotch-Irish, and on his mother's pure Scotch. His parents were both Scotch Presbyterians of the strict puritanical school of that denomination during their time.

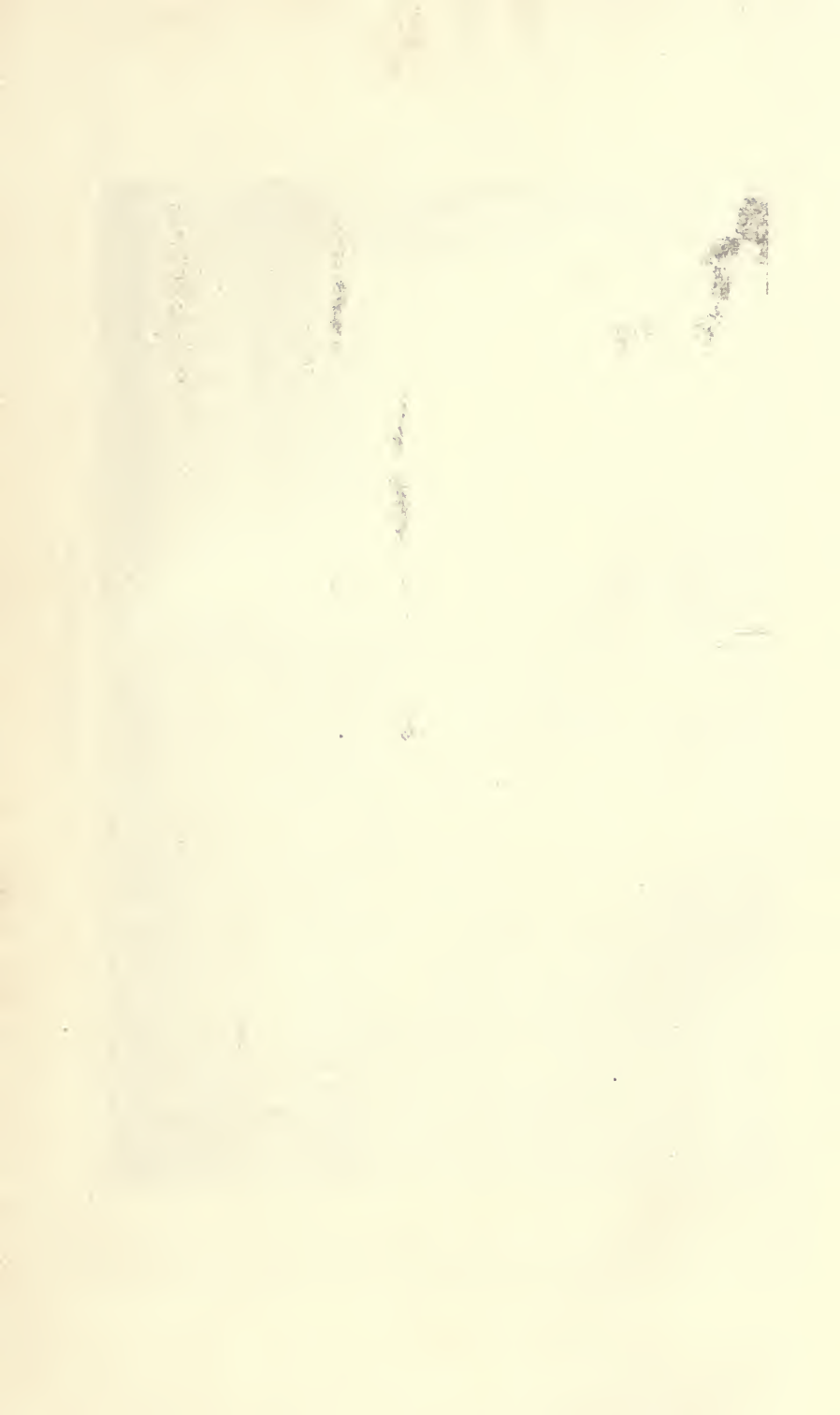
Being a blacksmith as well as a farmer, his father spent most of his time in the shop and the boys, after they had arrived at sufficient age carried on the farm. At this early date so worn had the thin soil of parts of this farm become, that one whole field though well situated and originally fertile was abandoned and left uncultivated. In after years the application of lime restored its fertility.

Blacksmithing then was as different from the blacksmithing of to-day, as our farm operations are different from those of that time. The making of the iron work of plows, making chains, nails, axes and other edge tools, such as knives, butcher knives and chisels as well as hay forks and manure forks and also many other things we now buy at the hardware stores were the work of the home blacksmith, and Jabez Kirkwood was an adept at all the work in his line. Cut nails had not then been invented, nor had wire nails been dreamed of, and all the nails then used for building or other purposes, whether large or small, were drawn out one at a time by the smith with his hammer and anvil, and the head of the nail made by having the large end mashed down with a riveting hammer. The edge tools of that day were all ground by hand to fit them for use after they came from the hands of the blacksmith, and it was a good half day's work for two men to grind and fit a new ax ready for chopping. Horse shoes were all turned by hand and the nails for setting them also made by hand.

The farm tools of that day as used on the Kirkwood farm consisted of a plow, the wood work of which was made by Coulson, one of the elder boys, and the iron work by the



GOV. KIRKWOOD'S BIRTH PLACE.



father; an "A" harrow with heavy frame and but few teeth and they of large size, a sled used in place of a wagon (in later years displaced by a wagon), scythes, sickles, grain cradles, hand rakes, pitchforks, manure forks, shovels, flails, a fan for cleaning grain after it was threshed; and all these tools combined were not equal in value to a mower or reaper or even a farm wagon of to-day. Thus all the farm work except the plowing and harrowing was done by hand and that by tools far inferior to those of the same kind manufactured to-day. The fanning mill that now lingers on a few of our farms had just begun to supersede the old hand fan.

In the house, in place of cook stove, for that had not then been invented, was a large open fire place with a broad stone or brick hearth in front of it, wide enough to take in five feet wood, and capacious enough to use in one day wood enough to last a cook stove a whole week. In this fire place, over the fire, was hung an iron crane that reached nearly the length of the fire place and would swing out over the hearth, and on the crane a family of iron hooks from a few inches to two feet or more in length, and a trammel on all which were hung the pots and kettles in which was done the family cooking, except the frying and baking. In baking a large long legged cast iron bake kettle, sometimes called a Dutch oven, was used. A huge pile of coals was drawn from the fire on to the hearth, the oven set over them, the dough being first put in, the large iron cover, with a wide flange turned up, placed on and this cover loaded with live coals to the top of the flange. This was the "send off" the embryo bread got in the oven, the live coals both on the hearth and the kettle, being renewed from time to time till the baking was finished. The frying was done by hauling live coals on to the hearth, placing the spider or frying pan over them, sometimes with a cover over the pan and often not. Turkeys, ducks, chickens and ribs of pork were roasted by being hung before the open fire and turned and basted as the roasting process pro-

ceeded. Before and over this blazing, roasting fire all the family cooking was done and it is a wonder that our mothers and grandmothers as cooks did not themselves get roasted by it.

The preparation of the family clothing, except the dyeing and fulling, from the time the wool came from the sheeps' backs and the flax came from the hands of the flax dresser, was all made in the family. The wool was all carded, spun and woven by hand, the hand cards, spinning wheel and loom being common tools in nearly every household, and when the garments of the men and boys were to be made a "tailoress" was brought into the house and she remained till a year's stock for all had been cut and made. The day of shoe stores had not then dawned nor had boot and shoe shops become plenty, and when shoes were wanted leather was purchased at the country store or at the tanner's and a shoemaker with his kit of tools was brought into the house, given a place in the kitchen and he remained till the whole family were shod. It was the custom in those days for boys as well as girls till well in their teens to go barefooted in the summer, and if the shoemaker could not get around in time it was often as late as the advent of early frosts and untimely snows before the shoes were ready, and the Governor often goes back in memory to the time when as a barefooted boy he was sent out in the early morning to drive up the cows, and remembers how he stood on the warm spots where the cows had lain over night to warm his toes chilled by the ungenerous frost.

As there were no girls in the Kirkwood family the boys did the churning, helped do the washing and such other household chores as boys could turn their hands to, and Samuel performed his share of these tasks.

Such was the farm on which, and such the home and family in which the Governor spent the first ten years of his life, and they did not differ in any essential particulars from

the majority of the farms and homes in that part of the country at that time.

On one corner of his father's farm was a log school house, in whose small windows oiled paper served in the place of glass and whose seats were logs split in two with wooden pins for legs, and desks made in a similar manner. In this rude school house young Samuel commenced his education, and it was begun when he was so young that the older brothers often carried him to school on their backs, and here it was continued till he was ten years old, and he must have been an apt scholar in his childhood days, for he cannot remember the time when he could not repeat the multiplication table, and before he graduated from the log school house, at the age of ten, he had advanced so that he had "ciphered" to the "rule of three" (proportion) in arithmetic, and had made a corresponding advancement in his other studies, an advancement that in those days was deemed creditable in a youth of fifteen.

A well educated man by the name of John McLeod who left Ireland during the stormy revolution of 1798, when England finally abolished the Irish Parliament, came to America and became a teacher. He married a Miss Coulson, sister of Jabez Kirkwood's first wife, and in after years opened a school in Washington.

During his residence in Washington as a teacher, he often spent his vacations in Maryland with his brother-in-law, the father of his assistant teacher and of his pupil Samuel J.

Robert Kirkwood, his nephew, and half-brother of Samuel, who was a very excellent linguist, was an assistant teacher in the school, and through his influence the latter was placed in the school to prosecute his studies and here he remained four years during the close of Monroe's and the opening of J. Q. Adams' administration, finishing his English studies and getting enough of the classics to enable

him to read the Greek Testament and several Latin authors, when he quit school and entered, as a clerk, a drug store kept on Pennsylvania avenue in Washington. While at school he engaged in all the literary exercises connected with it, and after he left it and went into the drug store, he and his associates formed a literary society, which was at first a private affair, but was finally opened to visitors, and considerable audiences, including the ladies, listened to the deliberations, debates and addresses of these embryo statesmen; and it was here, in the exercises of this youthful society, while yet in his early teens, he laid the foundation of that character and those habits, and developed the characteristics that made him so successful a platform speaker in after life. In the debates in this organization he acquired the mastery of himself upon the floor, with the eyes of the audience all upon him, and learned to marshall his facts, array his thoughts, and so discipline his powers that when they were called into action in his intellectual contests with his opponents, he felt perfectly at home and could use every weapon at his command like a veteran in long service.

After spending a year in the drug store of Patrick Leyne, at the age of seventeen, he went into York County, Pennsylvania, near the Maryland line, and there engaged in teaching a country school, boarding with his Aunt Sally, and doing chores before and after school to pay for his board. After closing this term of school he went into another neighborhood, where he opened a subscription school, boarding around among the patrons of the school, as was the custom in those early days. This "boarding around" had its advantages as well as its drawbacks, while it made an itinerant of the teacher, feeding him at almost every man's table in the neighborhood, it gave him an insight into the inner and domestic life of his patrons, and enabled him to study human nature in all its varied phases. To a young man who was to become a professional or public character in after life, this

itineration was a most excellent school in which many lessons could be learned that would prove useful in after life. At this last school Daniel Kirkwood, Samuel's cousin, now the distinguished astronomer living in California, then two years his junior, was his pupil, and here he showed those habits of deep research, thorough study and intense application that afterwards made him the eminent scholar that he is.

After finishing his teaching here his older brother Wallace, who had purchased a drug store at the corner of Pennsylvania avenue and Eleventh street, in Washington, wanted him for a clerk, and here he remained two years or more and then returned home and spent a winter in a school kept some three miles away, perfecting himself in his classical studies.

While at school here he walked these three miles twice a day, making a daily six-mile tramp in pursuit of knowledge.

As indicating the power of the prejudice and tenacity of opinion and force of habit of these early Scotch Presbyterians, it is related that the two clerks of the church where the Kirkwoods attended, occupied a position in front of the pulpit facing the audience during the service, one of them read the psalms and hymns and the other named the tune and led the singing, and in these duties they alternated one with the other, and they had for a long time used a set of old church tunes that all in the congregation had become familiar with, and the older members had become attached to. But in the course of time a singing school was taught in the neighborhood, and some new tunes had been introduced and learned by the younger members of the congregation. One of the clerks was Wm. Coulson, a brother-in-law of the elder Kirkwood, and the other Wm. More Livingstone. The latter was in favor of singing some of the new tunes, in fact had taught them, and when it came his turn to lead he named them quite frequently and they were sung. One good brother by the name of Tarbet, who was orthodox in all

points of faith, thinking the singing of these new tunes was sacrilege would not endure them, and left his seat in hot haste and went out of the church to get away from the singing. The particular tune that was then being sung was afterwards, from this fact, named "Tarbet's Trot." Not long after this the horses of Jabez Kirkwood hitched to some trees in plain view from the pew he occupied were getting into some trouble with each other, and he seeing them in their dilemma during the singing of one of these new tunes rushed out of the church in haste to relieve them. The congregation, supposing that he was going out for the same reason that Brother Tarbet had, named that particular tune "Kirkwood's Canter."

The father of Samuel was a man in good circumstances, "well to do in the world" as the phrase goes, but he became surety for a friend, and as bondsman was called upon to make up a large deficit of his principal, and when this was done he had only his farm left. Hoping to regain his fortune on it in raising horses, he had made a good beginning at it when his horses were all carried off by disease. He then determined to sell and go West with the current then setting strongly in that direction.

In 1835, just after Samuel had attained his majority, he sold the farm and the family all went to Richland County, Ohio. The journey was made from Maryland to Ohio in a two-horse wagon, which contained all the worldly goods of the family, and it was most of the way over the Great National Road, along which nearly the whole trade of Baltimore and Philadelphia was carried on, some in heavy, wide-tired wagons drawn often by four, six and eight horses to a wagon, and when nearly every other house on the road was a tavern. It was quite the custom of travelers in those days to carry their provisions with them and do their cooking at the fire in the tavern kitchen, the men sleeping in their covered wagons and the women and children in the house.

On getting up one morning it was found that all the money belonging to the Kirkwood family was missing, it all being carried in a common purse. The consternation can better be imagined than described until after diligent search it was found in the bottom of the wagon.

Here the father entered eighty acres of heavily timbered wild land, and John, one of the sons, bought at second hand 160 acres more, on which a little clearing of about four acres had been made, and on which was a small log cabin, built in the rudest and most primitive style of round, unhewed logs with a puncheon roof, held on by weight poles, and a rough puncheon floor; on the place was also a very rough primitive stable. Here in a contest with the primeval forests, enduring the hardships and inconveniences of pioneer life, recommenced the struggle for subsistence and the regaining of a competency. This struggle was continued until sixty acres of the farm had been subdued and made tillable land.

About this time there was speculative mania all over the country for the purchase of wild Western government land, which had been reduced in price from two dollars to one dollar and a quarter per acre, and so much was bought that, combining with other causes, a large surplus of money, amounting to over \$70,000,000, had accumulated in the United States Treasury, and was afterward distributed among the several States. This speculative mania, with other causes, resulted in the financial crash of 1837, the most disastrous one that ever afflicted the country, one in which the banks all suspended specie payment, in which all business was paralyzed, and in which nearly every considerable debtor became a bankrupt. This brought about a state of affairs oppressive to almost every family in the country, and peculiarly so to one like the Kirkwood family, just commencing a new life on the wild frontier. But they manfully braved it all and success eventually crowned all their efforts.

During all this time Samuel spent the winters in teaching

school, at which he got good wages and became the possessor of a little ready money. During one of these terms of school an incident occurred that is worth mentioning here, as it illustrates the fact that it is as important that a boy should learn his rights and how to maintain them as it is to learn the rules of grammar and arithmetic and how to apply them. He had for a pupil his brother's son William, and some of the boys were in the habit of pitching on to him and abusing him without any provocation, and his uncle asked him one day if such was not the case, when he replied that it was, and he asked him why he did not defend himself, and the boy replied that his father told him he must get along quietly at school and not get into any trouble with the boys. "Well," said his uncle, "don't you let the boys abuse you again if you can help it, and as to your getting into trouble with them, I'll give you a quarter apiece for each one you'll give a thrashing when they attack you." Within a day or two Will says one morning: "Uncle Sam, you owe me seventy-five cents; I gave three of the boys a lickin' yesterday." "Well," replied his uncle, "here is your money, but I think I'll rescind the contract now." It was he who afterwards, as a "boy in blue," and a lieutenant in the 14th Iowa Infantry, and still later in the battle of Corinth, was employed by his other "Uncle Sam" to punish some bad "boys in gray," and he helped do a good job at it in the capture of Fort Donelson. He received special mention from his colonel "for very valuable assistance in forming the line with his company in front of the enemies breastworks."

While teaching school Samuel became well acquainted with a Mr. Abram Armentrout, who was the assessor of Richland county, and in the year 1840 he was employed by Mr. A. as his deputy assessor, and thirteen townships of the county were assigned to him as the scene of his labors, and all the personal property in these thirteen townships was assessed by him and the work was

done and the whole section traveled over on foot. For this service the deputy was allowed a dollar and a half a day, and this county school teacher undoubtedly thought that in getting such a job as this, at such a price in such pinching times, he was securing a small fortune, and such it was in those times.

After closing up this work, Mr. Armentrout bought a store and a tavern stand, and engaged his deputy as his clerk to assist him in selling goods and "keeping tavern." After spending a year in this business our subject began to think a wider field might be found in which he could better display his powers and accomplish more good for himself and the world at large than in subduing the forest and working a farm, teaching a county school or selling goods and helping keep tavern.



CHAPTER II.

Studies Law in Mansfield—Assistant in County Clerk's Office—Is Admitted to the Bar—Opens an Office and Begins Practice—Forms a Partnership with His Old Preceptor—Prepares Cases for Trial—Cases all Well Prepared—Marries Jane Clark—Elected Prosecuting Attorney—Successfully Tries a Murder Case—Three Attorneys in the Case Become Cabinet Ministers—Forms a Partnership with Barnabas Burns—Farewell by the Bar of Richland County—Elected to the Constitutional Convention—Extracts from Speeches There.

Bidding good-by to all previous occupations, in the year 1841, at the age of twenty-eight, he went to Mansfield, and entering the office of Thomas W. Bartley commenced a two years' study of law. One of the questions that was puzzling him in the contemplation of these two years' professional study was the obtaining of funds to pay his board bills and meet other necessary expenses during that term. At this time Dr. E. W. Lake, a personal friend and afterward a resident in Iowa City and Marion in this State, was the clerk of the courts in Richland county, and not wishing to confine himself to official work in the office, young Barnabas Burns was his deputy, on whom most of the duties of the clerk devolved, and arrangements were soon made by which young Kirkwood got work enough writing in the clerk's office with the deputy to realize nearly money enough to meet his necessary expenses. This was a most excellent opportunity, for, in addition to furnishing him means to pay his way, the work gave him an introduction to, and familiarized him with, all the legal forms in a law practice, and to the legal machinery by which the court was run and the law administered. No better avenue could have been opened to a young law student than this.

Completing his law studies and obtaining the necessary

certificate from his preceptor, he went on horseback, in company with Frank Barker, another law student, also on horseback, from Mansfield to Cincinnati, a distance of 150 miles, to be examined for admission to the Supreme Court. Returning, a full-fledged attorney, with his diploma in his pocket, he opened an office in Mansfield facing the public square, where, also facing the square, was the office of his old preceptor in which he had spent the previous two years.

After spending a few months in this office reviewing his law studies and waiting for clients, his old preceptor dropped in on him one day and asked him if he had made any arrangements toward forming a partnership. He replied he had not, but that he and Frank Barker had had some preliminary talk on the subject. "Well," replied Mr. Bartley, "I have dissolved with my old partner and I have come in to offer you his place." Here was something better offered than sitting alone in an office and waiting for clients—it was an invitation to an office and a practice where clients did not have to be waited for. The result of this interview was that a partnership was then formed in which the new and young partner was to get one-half of the proceeds of the office. It was not "nominated in the bond" that the new partner was to do more than half the work, but he had it to do nevertheless. Upon going back into the old office, the young partner found that the papers in some twenty cases had to be drawn up and prepared for filing, to be ready for the next term of court, and some of them were very important ones, involving riparian rights and damages by the overflow of land in the erection of mill dams, and he thought that an older and abler lawyer than himself should prepare the pleadings which were then under the old common law forms. The days wore on, the older partner did not get at them and the younger one had to. When after all were got ready by him they were placed on the senior's table to be examined, and there they

lay undisturbed and unexamined when the filing day arrived. In a state of nervous indignation and exasperation they were taken by the junior to the office and filed. Trepidation then began in the mind of the junior, lest some of the petitions (declarations they were then called) should be demurred out of court, and some important cases have to go over or be disposed of to the disadvantage of clients. But they all "stood fire," and it was a happy time for the junior when the last day of court arrived and he found his work all well done. The main work of trying these cases in court was done, of course, by the senior member of the firm. He had undoubtedly learned that his former pupil could be trusted as a partner with the most important work that came into the office, as he had fully prepared himself for that work.

In the year 1811 there settled in Ohio, about six miles from Mansfield, Mr. Ichabod Clark, and here he reared a typical Ohio family of two sons and eight daughters. John, the younger of the two sons, studied law in the office of Mr. Kirkwood, and afterwards becoming a litigant in the office of a country justice, went to Mansfield the day before the trial to get his former preceptor to help him in his case. Mr. K. spent the night before the trial at the home and in the family of his client's father, and also the following one after the trial, and here he made the acquaintance of lovely Jane Clark, his client's sister. That acquaintance ripened into love and culminated in their marriage, which took place on the 27th day of December, 1843, and together they have since traveled the journey of life, she being all this time a model wife and he an exemplary husband.

Mr. Kirkwood had been in practice but a couple of years when he was elected prosecuting attorney of the county, and this put into his hands the preparation and trial of one side of all the criminal cases in court, and during his term the first conviction in that county for murder in the first degree took place. It was a case of more than usual interest, as the

families of both the murderer and murdered man were wealthy and influential and occupied prominent positions in society.

It was the trial of Robert Bowland for the murder of Frank Barker. One thing that gave it a deep interest to the public prosecutor was the fact that the murdered man had been a co-law student with him, rode in company on horseback with him to Cincinnati to be examined for admission to the Supreme Court, and afterwards contemplated forming a law partnership with him—and as a matter of course had been on very intimate terms with him.

The parties were both young men, recently married and were brothers-in-law—Barker having married Bowland's sister.

The attorneys were, in addition to Mr. K. as public prosecutor, a prosecuting attorney from an adjoining county and Judge Lane from Sandusky, who had held a position on the Supreme Bench, on one side, and Thomas Ewing and Columbus Delano for the defense. Judge Lane was employed by the father of Barker as assistant counsel, as it was thought that legal questions might arise during the trial, that he could better grapple with than younger lawyers, and that his opinions would weigh more before the court trying the case than theirs.

Nearly a week was consumed in the trial of the case and when the testimony was all in, and the lawyers were ready to go to the jury, Mr. K. in consultation asked Judge Lane what part he would like to take in the concluding part of the trial in addressing the jury. The Judge laughed and replied: "You are perfectly competent to present this case as it should be presented in all its aspects to the jury; I have no reputation to make in it, I was got here to help you out on legal questions and I will leave the case now in your hands." The assistant from the adjoining county made the first speech to the jury and Mr. Kirkwood the closing one. The result was a verdict of "guilty."

It is a notable fact that three of the lawyers, Ewing, Delano and Kirkwood, engaged in the trial of this cause, afterwards became cabinet ministers, all being Secretaries of the Interior, and when Mr. K. went to Washington to enter upon his duties in that office, he found the portraits of the men who had confronted him on this trial hanging on the walls of his office; their portraits being left there as is usual in all the departments.

When Barnabas Burns had completed his term of office as Deputy Clerk, he entered the office of Bartley & Kirkwood as a student at law; in due time was admitted to practice, and opened an office and went into practice in Mansfield.

As time wore on the senior member of the firm of Bartley & Kirkwood, though not becoming any less a lawyer, was becoming more and more a politician, devolving more and more of the labors both of the office and the court room upon the junior, and the latter began to think another partnership desirable for the successful practice of the law business that was accumulating, with the perplexing problem of how to get rid of the old partner presenting itself. Fortunately Mr. Bartley was an aspirant for the office of governor, but there were other aspirants whose chances were probably better than his. The embryo firm of Kirkwood & Burns proposed him for Supreme Judge, an office which the New Constitution provided should be filled by election by the people. They advocated and procured his nomination by the convention of his party and he was triumphantly elected, made a most excellent judge, and left a vacancy in the law office which was filled by the old time Deputy Clerk, Barnabas Burns, as the junior member of the firm of Kirkwood & Burns. It is not often that a man is got out of another's way by being invited to take a seat higher, where greater honors can be bestowed upon him, but this was a case of that kind. This partnership formed by the old Deputy Clerk and his subor-

dinate, continued till the latter left Ohio in 1855 for a permanent residence in Iowa.

The bar of Richland county, always a strong one, was particularly so at this time, containing among others such men as Bartley; Stewart, father-in-law of John Sherman, who is now so widely and well known as one of our leading statesmen; Newman; Ford, afterwards Lieut. Gov. with Salmon P. Chase for Gov.; Brinkerhoff & Geddes, both afterwards members of Congress, and others their compeers, and on the final departure to Iowa of so prominent a member of that bar as Mr. Kirkwood had been, they tendered to him a banquet, and in addition to the feast spread upon the table it was a "feast of reason and a flow of soul" where Mirth and Good Cheer reigned supreme, and at the close of which many a farewell hand shake was given, and a "God speed you on your way" was pronounced by all.

In 1802 Ohio was admitted into the Union, and from that time till 1850 her constitution had remained unchanged. In the latter year a State Convention was held to revise and change that instrument. Of that body S. J. Kirkwood was chosen a member from Richland county. The history of that state for the forty-eight years preceding that convention had demonstrated the necessity of many changes and reforms in its fundamental law, especially on the subjects of Finance, Banking, Judicial Organization, Education, Corporations, Law Practice and other subjects. The consideration of and the debates upon the questions relating to these topics gave an opportunity for the display of the abilities, talents and sound judgment of the members of this body, and in most of them Mr. Kirkwood took a prominent part, and the impress of his opinions was stamped upon that constitution, which still remains the fundamental law of the Buck-eye state.

Ohio has always been rich in men of learning, talent and ability, and a heavy drain upon, and choice selection from

that class of her people was made to constitute that convention. It is doubtful whether she ever has, in her whole history, called together an abler body of men in an official capacity than this convention embraced, and Mr. Kirkwood took a fair rank in it. On taking his seat he was made chairman of the committee on Privilege and Elections, and had a place on the committee on the Judiciary, one of the most important ones in that body, where he was intimately associated in his work with some of the ablest lawyers and jurists in the State, among whom was the venerable Peter Hitchcock, who was for twenty-seven years on the Supreme Bench and J. R. Swan, author of Swan's Treatise, the most extensively used book by the whole Ohio Bar; Judge McKennon, of Belmont, Henry Stansberry and others of the prominent lawyers of the State.

The convention met at the State Capitol, in Columbus, on the 6th day of May, 1850, and continued in session till the 8th day of July, when it adjourned to meet in Cincinnati on the first Monday of the following December. The reason for adjourning was that the cholera had made its appearance and was becoming epidemic in many parts of the State, some cases occurring in Columbus which had proved fatal. The convention met at the appointed time and place and finally adjourned on the 10th day of the following March, having been in session in all one hundred and thirty-five days.

Below are given a few extracts from some of the speeches made by Mr. Kirkwood on some of the leading subjects discussed in the convention.

On the subject of Biennial Sessions of the legislature, Mr. Kirkwood said:

"I had not intended to say a word on the question under consideration, and I will say but few. I shall vote in accordance with my own sentiments, and those whom I represent in favor of biennial sessions, but before doing that I wish to allude briefly to some objections to that measure.

"The gentleman from Hamilton has argued this question as if it

were a question of government or no government, of order or anarchy. Now, sir, that is not the question at issue. It is really a question as to how often it is necessary and proper that the people should gather together by their representatives to enact new, or to amend or repeal old laws, whether it is safer or better that this should be done annually, or biennially. I apprehend that while our General Assembly is not in session we have a government—the law-making power is in the hands of the people where it is safe, or rather perhaps is dormant where it cannot be used to their prejudice, but the Executive and Judicial Departments are in full operation, extending by means of existing laws protection to the rights and interests of the people. It strikes me that there is a misconception on the part of some gentlemen who have argued this question, and who seem to be impressed with the idea that it is only during the sessions of the General Assembly that the people possess any power. I think this is incorrect—the sovereignty—the law-making power is in the people at all times, except during those sessions. At these times it is in the hands of agents, and returns again to the people as soon as the agents cease to act. * * * I think, Mr. Chairman, that gentlemen who favor annual sessions are in error in drawing comparisons between our form of government and a monarchical one, in aid of their view of the question. With us the sovereignty is in the people; in monarchies it is in a greater or less degree in the monarch. Now, sir, what department of government is it which, wherever it exists is always stealing or wresting to itself power from the sovereign? I answer the legislative or law-making power. In governments where this department does not exist, and the sovereignty is in the monarch, that monarch is a despot, and the people are slaves. Under limited monarchies where this department does exist, it is the channel through which power passes from the monarch, and a body between which and the monarch a struggle for power is continually going on; and hence the Liberals under a monarchical government are always in favor of frequent sessions of their legislature. But, sir, this is not the state of affairs with us. Here the people are sovereign, and do we need a legislative body to carry on a continual war with our sovereign, to draw power from his hands? It is no less true, sir, in popular than in monarchical governments that the legislature is the channel through which power is drawn from the sovereign, it is with us the channel through which power is drawn from the people, and I wish to make it as narrow and open it as seldom as is consistent with safety. We are here to narrow that channel, and I hope, sir, to provide that it shall not be opened more frequently than once in two years."

Upon the question of giving to the governor or withholding from him the veto power, Mr. Kirkwood said:

"I am in favor of the old-fashioned veto, I always have been. I believe that experience has shown its utility both in state and national affairs, but I am satisfied that in this convention we cannot get it, and I make it a rule if I cannot get the best (which is always preferable) to take the next best. This I find to be a very practicable and reasonable rule of action. I never wed myself so closely to my own opinions as to feel, if I cannot carry them that I will go against everything else. It was with this consideration that I had hoped that this proposition coming from our friends on the other side (the Whigs) would have been accepted as a concession, I shall myself vote for it because certainly to some extent it will impose a restraint upon hasty legislation."

In the debate on the subject of Corporations occurs an episode in one of Mr. Kirkwood's speeches worthy a place here. He said:

"I believe that there is at the foundation of political parties in the State and in our Union and among 'the rest of mankind,' a radical difference in principles, and that the names made use of to designate parties are not mere sounds meaning nothing. I believe that the term Democrat as adopted by the Democratic Party has a significance as to principle, and does not merely mean a number of men combined together for the purpose of getting office. I also believe that the term 'Whig,' as applied to the Whig Party is intended to signify principles, and not merely to signify a body of men banded together merely to obtain place. This I believe—if I did not believe it parties would be, in my opinion, objects of scorn and detestation. No honest man would be a party man if there was no higher bond of union than spoils. Now I believe these differences arise from principle, and so believing I never can consent to abandon the position I hold as a member of my party, or the advocacy of its principles. Parties are founded on principles and the no-party man is a man without principles."

On the question of taking private property for public use, or the use of corporations, Mr. Kirkwood advocated the right of all persons whose property had been taken to have their rights adjusted in the courts, and of having their claims determined by a jury in those courts.

On the proposition to excuse Quakers and others opposed to war from performing military duty, Mr. Kirkwood said:

"The proposition is to exclude from doing military duty a certain portion of our citizens, that if hereafter the legislature should deem it

necessary to enact a law requiring that military drill and trainings be had, a certain portion of our citizens should be exempt from the operation of that law. Now I would ask, why not make a general provision applicable to all laws that they shall be obligatory only on those who conscientiously believe them to be right, and that those who conscientiously believe *any* law to be wrong, may disregard it. Why confine our action to one law and one class of people? I think my friend from Jefferson will not endorse, on the part of the Quakers, this claim to be thus peculiarly favored. I believe there is a sect called the covenanters, who hold peculiar opinions in relation to civil government. They hold that all government that does not conform to the Bible is wrong. They are therefore conscientiously opposed to paying taxes for the support of our government, as in their opinion it does not come up to their standard. Will gentlemen make a law declaring that these persons be exempt from taxation? Why not? If it is right in this case to make a constitutional provision exempting a certain class of men from bearing arms because they are conscientiously opposed to so doing, is it not equally right to make a provision exempting the class alluded to from paying taxes because they are conscientiously opposed to so doing? Again, the Catholics deem it to be wrong, and think their rights are infringed upon when they are compelled to pay taxes for the support of common schools, to which they cannot conscientiously send their children. They would desire the portion of the common school fund they contribute applied to schools where their children could be educated in the same religious faith as themselves. Will gentlemen go to that length and make the distinctions in these cases as well as the one under consideration? If not—why not?”

Mr. Robertson, a member of the convention, said:

“The argument of the gentleman from Richland (Mr. Kirkwood) against exempting any class from military duty ought to be conclusive. If we begin to make exceptions, there is no point where we can end. The very idea of exceptions destroys that equality that should prevail among all the citizens of the State.”

Upon the question of taxation the convention encountered a difficulty that we have met with in this State, that of “double taxation,” and to meet and obviate the difficulty Mr. K. offered an amendment providing for “the levying of taxes upon all residents of the State in proportion to the amount of property and assets owned by each, deducting therefrom the debts by him owing according to the value thereof;” and upon this he said:

"My object is to tax every man for what he is worth and not for what he merely holds. For instance, if a man buys a farm of the value of, and for which he is to pay, ten thousand dollars, for which he pays down five thousand, and continues to owe five thousand on it, he expects, in the course of years, by his own skill and labor, to make the money out of the land to pay the balance. Under the present law he is taxed upon the whole ten thousand dollars. By what right is he so taxed? I desire, by this amendment, so to fix it that a man in future will be taxed upon property only to the extent of his own interest in it, and not upon all that he holds, whether his own or not. * * * The present law is unjust in its operations. It calls upon many men to pay taxes on more than they are worth. It brings in property for taxation twice over, once in the form of land and again in the form of notes given for its purchase. A farm sold for ten thousand dollars may readily be made to pay taxes upon fifteen, ten thousand upon the land and five thousand upon the mortgages. A sells a farm for ten thousand dollars, for which he receives five thousand in hand and notes for five thousand secured by mortgage on the farm. On this five thousand he is taxed, while B, to whom he sold the land, is taxed for the whole price of it, ten thousand dollars. This is wrong. I want to hear the views of gentlemen on this question."

The question of the Reform of the Law Practice in the courts, both civil and criminal, was before the convention, and on it Mr. K. said:

"I object to the grand jury system on account of its expense. I would be glad to see all cases of assault and battery, petit larceny and other minor offences that would go to the grand jury disposed of before a justice of the peace, and if the disposition of the case was wrong, it could be taken up on writ of error. It is not good policy to spend \$200 in costs to protect an interest of six and one-fourth cents."

At this time the Democratic party with which Mr. K. affiliated was, to quite an extent, in favor of an exclusive metallic currency, and opposed to the issue of paper money, and on this subject he was in accord with his party, and in a considerable speech he advocated the exclusion of all bank notes from circulation under the denomination of twenty dollars. As this was soon after the discovery of gold in California, it was argued that the influx of the precious metals from that section would be sufficient to supersede the use of bank paper and we would have a circulating medium that

never would become depreciated in value, and would be the current coin of the whole country. Mr. K., among other things, said:

"Sir, what do the people want? Our friends here say they would have hard money. Well, I am agreed to that. I am a hard-moneyed man, and I believe that if this question could be fairly brought before the people they would also vote for it. But we cannot get such a proposition through here. It is now well understood by this convention that no hard money proposition can be engrafted in the constitution, and we may just as well say it at one time as another, and knowing this, do these gentlemen desire the old system to go on? Do they desire the convention to adjourn and say not a word about banking? Will they throw the question back into the politics of the State just where it has been for the last eight or ten years? Will they let the legislature go on and charter bank after bank with the existing license of the system, and do nothing but wait for the 'good time coming,' and, in the mean time, permit the same system of outrage and wrong under which we have suffered so much? If this be their policy, it is not mine. I am willing to go as far as any of these gentlemen to effect what we all believe to be the best thing; but if that cannot be effected, I then desire to effect the next best thing, and this I apprehend to be the dictate of plain common sense. Admitting to be correct all these gentlemen claim, admitting that within a few years such a change will have taken place in public opinion in this State as to render absolutely certain the attainment of a hard money currency, I have shown, and every gentleman must see that the attainment of this desirable end is not in any manner endangered or delayed by the adoption of the sections I have offered; but let us suppose for a moment that it is possible for these gentlemen to be mistaken; that it is possible that they may not be infallible; that it is possible that these gentlemen may be ignorant of the future, although they know so well every thing past and present, and what then? Why this: that these gentlemen are about to fasten upon the people of this State for an indefinite period of time a system of plunder and robbery against which they have been struggling for years, a system that these gentlemen and myself consider corrupt and demoralizing, and but little if any better than legalized swindling. And are the gentlemen so sure that they precisely and exactly know not what now is or what has been, but what will be, that they are willing to run the risk? Are they willing to stake this fearful result upon their infallibility? If they are, I am not. I have a very high opinion of the wisdom of these gentlemen, but they must excuse me from placing implicit confidence on their fore-knowledge.

"Now, I affirm that the people desire and expect of us that we should do something with the question of the currency, although I can

speak positively only of those whom I represent. But I can say to my Whig friends here that I have not met a single Whig in Richland county amongst the rank and file of the party but desired to have some constitutional restriction on the power of the legislature to grant charters hereafter, and, moreover, I have never found a single individual in favor of the present banking system of the State, nor of leaving to the legislature unrestricted exercise of the same power which they now have with reference to this matter. I have found some Whigs that are in favor of submitting the question of banks or no banks to the people, and, in case of their decision in favor of banks, to fall back upon a new constitutional alternative. I have not seen so much as one man of either party but what was in favor of some constitutional action on this question, either a total prohibition of paper money, or some restriction upon the legislative power creating it. Then if we cannot obtain our preference, let us have the best practical thing we can get. Although we think we see 'a good day a-coming,' still we ought to guard as well as we can the interests of the people until it shall come.

"I address myself to practical men on both sides of this chamber. Seeing that their extreme notions can not be adopted here, I ask them to come up and do what they can to remedy existing evils. I tell them that the people ask this at their hands, and that they will not be put off with an abstraction.

"How would it look in me to go home and say to the people, 'your party had it in their power to save you from plunder, but they refused to do so because they thought that some ten years hence, perhaps, they could do it more effectually?' * * * I shall record my vote and raise my voice against the adjournment of this convention without some attempt to protect the people of Ohio from the system of bank plunder under which they have suffered so long and go grievously."

A statement was made and a table of figures presented in which it was shown that the people of Ohio during the existence of the old constitution had lost \$5,000,000 in depreciated and worthless bank paper, and it was to prevent any such loss in future that Mr. Kirkwood would reform the banking system. It was not supposed at that time, nor even dreamed of by the most ardent advocate of a paper currency, that we could have such a sound circulating medium, backed by the credit of the whole National Government, as we have in our National Bank notes, or, better still, in the "Blessed Greenback."

Had Mr. Kirkwood been told at this time that he would one day be using paper money that was equal to or better than gold or silver, he would have thought that the man telling it was the Prince of Lunatics, and yet the Republican party has made this an accomplished fact.

The capacity of our gold and silver mines to yield us their precious metals was both unknown and underestimated, and their products have since gone beyond all the anticipations of that time.

Upon the proposition to permit any one to plead his own case in a court of record, or employ any one else to do it for him, whether such person had been admitted to practice at the bar of that court or not, it being claimed by some that the lawyers were a privileged class, and had a monopoly of this business, Mr. Kirkwood said:

“When the people of Ohio sent us up here I suppose they had some definite object in view. They had been laboring under some inconveniences grievous to be borne, and they sent us here to remove them. But I never heard any gentleman say here or elsewhere before that the evil here sought to be remedied was considered to be a very great evil by the people at large. I am sure that the mass of the people whom I represent here never thought of complaining that they had not the right to practice law. I desire to confine my action here to the removal of palpable existing evils, and I am satisfied that the farmers of Richland county do not ask for the privilege of leaving their farms and their plows and coming into our courts of justice to practice law. But whenever I can be convinced that I am mistaken in this, I will support this provision.

“We have, however, a few men in our county whose complaints I have heard upon this subject. And who are they? I have said they are not our farmers, neither are they our mechanics or working men. They do not belong to the classes that make up the strength of the country. But they are those men who are constantly prowling about our justices’ courts, fomenting quarrels and disputes among their neighbors and encouraging litigation. These are the only men whom I have heard complain of the exclusive privileges which belong to lawyers.”

Nearly every proposition advocated by Mr. Kirkwood was engrafted upon this new constitution; it was adopted by

the people, and forty years' experience under it has demonstrated that the changes in it from the old one were eminently fit to be made, and that under it the State of Ohio has enjoyed an unusual era of prosperity covering two-fifths of a century.



CHAPTER III.

Gold Discovery in California—Gold Hunters Cross Iowa—Afterwards Settle Here—Immigration of 1854, 5 and 6—Glowing Description of Iowa's Advantages—Dam Built in 1843 across the Iowa—Mill Resorted to by People from a Large Scope of Country—Mill Bought by Ezekiel Clark—Mr. Kirkwood Becomes His Partner—Farmer and Miller—Sells a Stranger Flour and Gets His Vote.

The discovery of gold in California by Capt. Sutter in the year 1848, in unusual and unheard of quantities, set the western world ablaze with excitement, and a general rush was made for the golden field thus opened, and the route to that field taken by those who went thither from the west, as well as the eastern bank of the Mississippi lay across the then undeveloped state of Iowa, and every ferry across the great "Father of Waters" (he had not yet been spanned by a single bridge), was kept busy for several weeks, if not months in the spring of the few years following the influence of the magnet attracting numerous wealth seekers to this golden discovery, in crossing teams and passengers on their way to this new Eldorado.

As Iowa with her then millions of acres of unbroken fertile prairie, lay immediately in their way, and these gold seekers indulged in the luxury, if luxury it could be called of crossing them on foot or with slow-traveling ox and horse teams, they had an opportunity of studying this new country in all its favorable forms, and of learning all that could be known of it. The knowledge thus obtained left a most favorable impression upon all who crossed the state. When these gold seekers, after making their "pile" and returning to their old homes with it, sought out a new place in which to build a home and invest that "pile" in it, their thoughts adverted to the new and undeveloped state of Iowa.

They had seen its broad prairies, had traversed its fertile vales, climbed its grass-covered hills, passed through its beautiful groves, crossed its clear and pebbly streams, and hither they came with their friends to whom they had imparted this knowledge.

Another writer on this subject says:

"In the year 1854 and 1855 the stream of emigration began to pour into Iowa from the eastern states to an extent that was astonishing and unprecedented. For miles and miles, and day after day, the prairies of Illinois were lined with cattle and wagons pushing on toward Iowa."

At Peoria one gentleman says, that during a single month *seventeen hundred and forty-three* wagons had passed through that place and all for Iowa.

The *Chicago Press* says:

"Most of the passenger trains came in last week with two locomotives, and the reason of this great increase of power will be understood when it is known that *twelve thousand* passengers arrived from the East by the Michigan Southern Railroad during the last week."

The *Burlington Telegraph* says:

"Twenty thousand emigrants have passed through the city within the last thirty days, and they are still crossing it at the rate of six and seven hundred a day."

These figures were furnished by the ferryman who keeps a sort of running calendar, and the editor of the *Dubuque Reporter* writes:

"Never before in the history of this northwestern region has there been a more gratifying spectacle than that now presented to those who take an interest in its progress and welfare. Viewing the almost countless throng of immigrants that crowd our streets, and learning that a similar scene is visible at every other point of the Mississippi border of Iowa, the spectator is led naturally to infer that a general exodus is taking place in the eastern states of the Union, as well as in those that a few years ago were denominated the west.

"Day by day the endless procession moves on—a mighty army of invasion which, were its objects other than peace and a fraternal, cordial league with its predecessors, their joint aim to conquer this fair and alluring domain from the wild dominion of nature, would strike terror in the boldest hearts. They come by hundreds and thousands,

from the hills and valleys of New England, bringing with them that same untiring, indomitable energy and perseverance, that have made their native states the admiration of the world, and whose influence is felt wherever enterprise has a votary or commerce spreads a sail; with intellects sharpened to the keenest edge, and brawny arms to execute the firm resolves of their iron will, and gathering fresh accessions as they swept across the intermediate country from the no less thrifty and hardy population of New York, Ohio and Indiana. Tarrying no longer among us than to select their future homes, away they hie to the capacious and inviting plains that spread themselves interminably, to yield almost without preparation their rich latent treasures.

"In reply to the question that may be asked, to what is the high tide setting into Iowa to be ascribed? we take it on ourselves to answer, that the unanimous consent of those who have investigated her claims, accords her a climate of unequaled salubrity, a soil of the most generous fertility, and a geographical position unsurpassed by that of any other western state; in a word, that naturally she contains within her limits all the elements which properly availed of by man will secure his highest temporal prosperity and happiness. When we take into account the central position of Iowa in the Union, and the fact of the rapid development of her resources, we can easily believe that she is destined to become at no distant day all that the most sanguine hope for. Her salubrious climate, abundance of water, and favorable distribution of timber and mineral resources all contribute to give Iowa pre-eminence among the western states in the minds of those who are exchanging a residence in the east for one in the west."

In the van of this surging mass in 1848 there came to Iowa City as a permanent settler Hon. Ezekiel Clark, and later in 1855 came with it his brother-in-law, S. J. Kirkwood.

In the year 1843 the first dam was built across the Iowa River about a couple of miles northwest of Iowa City at a place now called Coralville.

There was then no foreign capital to be got for such an enterprise, especially in a new frontier country as we were and none was available at home for investment in manufacturing purposes of any kind. The records of our court soon after this date show that twenty-seven of the leading citizens of our sparsely settled county went through bankruptcy. This is an index to the financial standing of our people at

that time. But the people had to live, and a mill in which to grind their grain was one of the necessities of that living. Heretofore the people of the "Old Capitol" county had to go a long distance into Illinois, or to a small mill in Dubuque county to get their grinding done, where they had to wait long weary days for their "turn," in the mean time sleeping in their wagons, or in the mill, and a home mill became a great desideratum.

To meet these wants a charter was granted by the legislature organizing the Iowa City Manufacturing Company, with a capital of five thousand dollars, divided into shares of twenty-five dollars each. These shares were taken payable in all kinds of material that were the subject of barter in those days, such as flour, bacon, grain, team work, labor, groceries, store pay, etc.; one man subscribing four shares payable in shoemaking. But the dam, breasting the foaming, surging waters of the boisterous river, was built and it was a happy time when the following New Year's day was celebrated by a public banquet in the mill at which the viands were "mush," "hoe cake," "corn pone," "Johnny cake," "brown bread" and other primitive dishes made from meal ground in the new mill, and a richer feast these banqueters never sat down to. In building this dam but twenty-five dollars *in cash* was expended, and the dam was 400 feet long and 10 feet high.

It is not certain that any dividends were ever paid on the capital stock of this company, the stockholders being content to derive their profits from it in the decreased distance they had to travel and the reduced time required in going to mill.

Ezekiel Clark eventually became the purchaser of this mill, or the dam and mill site, for the old mill had been burned down, and on this site he erected another.

This mill was resorted to by people from Fort Dodge, Marshalltown and that whole northwestern country for the purpose of getting their grinding done, or for the purchase

of the flour they used, and the vicinity of the mill often looked like a camping ground, so thronged was it with teams waiting their turns to have their grists ground.

In connection with and close to it, Mr. Clark owned a farm of 1,200 acres, and when Mr. Kirkwood came to Iowa in the spring of 1855 he became a joint owner of this farm and mill with Mr. Clark, and here from being a leading member of the bar in Richland County, Ohio, he became a full fledged Iowa miller and farmer, wearing the dusty coat of one and the soil-stained boots of the other, and if the sarcastic old adage is true, that "the dust from an *honest* miller's coat is a sure cure for sore eyes," Mr. Kirkwood might have opened an eye infirmary in one corner of the mill and have done a thriving business in that line, but the grists of his customers took so much of his time that he could not look after their eyesight.

During the summer and winter of this year, his time was spent looking after his farming and milling, leaving law and politics in abeyance. A new customer by the name of—— from Fort Dodge, then one of our outposts of settlement and civilization, came down to Muscatine for a supply of groceries, and on the way back stopped at the mill for a supply of flour, calculating that he wanted a certain quantity, but when the flour was put up, he found that he had not money enough to pay for it all, and told the miller he would have to take some of it back, when the miller says to him:

"You have not got more flour than you want, have you?"

"No," he replied, "but there is more than I have money to pay for."

"Well," says the miller, "you have come a long way to mill, and it takes you a great while to go and come, and you had better keep the flour and send the money for it when you can," and he did so.

When the trade was completed the miller asked him his name, which he gave, and then asked the miller for his, and got the reply, "My name is Sam Kirkwood."

In after years, when this customer saw the name of S. J. Kirkwood on the Republican ticket for governor, he asked some of his neighbors if this S. J. Kirkwood was not "Sam Kirkwood the miller," at Iowa City, of whom he once bought some flour, and learning that they were the same, he cast his vote for him, though he was a Democrat, and ever afterward when he saw that name on the ticket he voted for "Sam Kirkwood the miller."



CHAPTER IV.

Complexion of Political Parties—Factions—Mr. Grimes Nominated for Governor—Consults the Abolitionists—Abolition Ticket Withdrawn—Mr. Grimes Canvasses the State—Call for a State Convention—Meet and Organize—Make-up of Convention—Mr. Kirkwood Attends—Is Called Out and Makes a Speech—Elected to the State Senate—On Most Important Committee—Introduces a Free Kansas Joint Resolution—Supports it in a Speech—Mr. Harlan Sent Back to the Senate After Being Sent Home—Change in Congressional Districts—Arkansas and New Hampshire Resolutions.

There are times in the history of our country when the great body of the people are nearly equally divided on a clear and distinct line of public policy, and two sides are taken on a single clear, distinct and well-defined principle, or set of principles, and these principles are enunciated in a platform, sometimes composed of a single plank, but more frequently of several. On the other hand, there are times when the body politic seems cut up into factions, and there are squads of all shades of political complexions, and the people are divided up on various and diverse principles and projects.

The first instance of the former state of affairs was in the later colonial times, and during the revolutionary period of 1776, when the parties were divided into Whigs and Tories, and the political platform of the former was the immortal Declaration of Independence, the most clean-cut political document ever penned.

An instance of the other state of affairs was in 1824, when there were four presidential candidates in the field, and all claimed to be Democrats.

The most notable state of affairs of this latter class was about the year 1854 to 1856. The old Whig party was then fast integrating, and had become divided into "Woolly

Heads" (anti-slavery) and "Silver Greys" (pro-slavery). The Democrats were divided into "Free Soilers" and "Hunkers," the latter slavery propagandists and the former slavery restrictionists. There was also a faction of them called "Barnburners," who would purify the party as the Dutchman got rid of rats, by smoking them out and, in the process, burning up his barn. We had the "Old Abolitionists" and the new-fangled party styled "Know Nothings," and there was a small party called "National Reformers," sometimes called the "Vote Yourself a Farm" party, because their almost single principle has given birth to, and been crystallized in our, "pre-emption," "homestead" and "timber culture" laws, relating to the settlement of our public domain.

The last State Whig convention was held in the year 1854, when James W. Grimes was the nominee of the Whig party for Governor. A State convention of Abolitionists had been held the same year, and a full ticket had been nominated by them, and though this party was small and few in numbers, they held the balance of power, and it was pretty certain that with three tickets in the field the Democrats would win. Under this state of affairs Mr. Grimes visited Dr. Shedd and the leading Abolitionists in their stronghold at Denmark, in Lee county, told them privately, but fully and frankly, what his position and principles were on questions dividing the parties, and stated if these were satisfactory to them, and if they would withdraw their ticket from the field, he would make a canvass of the State and endeavor to be elected, otherwise he would return to Burlington, devote himself to his law practice, and leave the political canvass to take care of itself.

The Abolition ticket was withdrawn. Mr. Grimes opened a vigorous personal canvass, crossed the State from Burlington to Council Bluffs, speaking to large audiences in all the important towns; thence across the State again by way of Des Moines to Dubuque, intending to return home by way of the river counties, visiting on his way some of the

large towns in the more inland counties. But his voice had become so worn-out by his much speaking that he went directly home from Dubuque, stopping only at the large towns on the river. At this time there was not a mile of railroad in the State, nor were many of our streams bridged, and some of our sloughs were almost impassable, and traveling was slow, tedious, wearisome and vexatious. But the work was done, and the result was that he was triumphantly elected by over two thousand majority.

This coalition was the funeral knell of both the Whig and Abolition parties in Iowa, as they were never heard of afterward.

The Whig party, however, left to the State a dying legacy in the nomination by the Whig members of the General Assembly the next winter, who resolved themselves into a self-constituted State convention, of a State ticket that was voted for and elected the next April, after being endorsed by the Know-Nothings in State Council assembled.

But all political parties in the State except the Democratic were this year in a state of "innocuous desuetude," and became wholly disbanded.

On the third day of the following January there appeared in public print, where or by whom written it would now be difficult to ascertain, the following notice:

TO THE CITIZENS OF IOWA:

Believing that a large majority of the citizens of Iowa are opposed to the political principles of the present Administration, and to the introduction of slavery into territory now free, and that made free by the compromises of 1820, and that the party styling itself the "Democratic Party" are striving to make slavery a great *national* institution, contrary to the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as taught by the fathers of the Republic. We would call upon all such free citizens to meet in convention at Iowa City, on the 22d day of February, for the purpose of organizing a Republican party, to make common cause with a similar party already formed in several other of the States of the Union.

January 3, 1856.

MANY CITIZENS.

This was the conception of the Republican party in Iowa. Its birth took place on the 22d of the following month, when it was baptized and christened. Behind this call was no "central committee," no organization, no association, no club, nobody with any official authority to issue it; but as soon as it met the public eye it went over the State like a prairie fire before a driving wind. The public mind was ripe for something better in the shape of a political organization than any that then existed. The "Many Citizens" and their friends came together. They met as "Abolitionists," "Free Soilers," "Whigs," "Know-Nothings," "Naturalized Foreigners," "Disgusted Democrats," and "the rest of mankind opposed to slavery extension;" but they all went home as "Republicans," with one creed, one confession, one covenant and one baptism. There was a spontaneous uprising of the people, and that uprising culminated in the organization of the Republican party. Never was field more ripe for the harvest than was Iowa then for the gathering together and the uniting of the hosts of her people in opposition to the encroachments of the slave power.

The venerable Philip Viele was made president of the convention, and among its members were such men as Price, of Scott; Grinnell, of Poweshiek; Judge Hubbard, of Linn; Nourse and McCrary, of Van Buren; Finkbine and Kirkwood, of Johnson. But it is invidious to make separate mention, when all were able and sound.

The late Alfred Sanders, then the able editor of the Davenport *Gazette*, and one of its members said of it:

"It was much the largest convention that ever assembled in the State of Iowa. Men were there as delegates from Dallas, Cerro Gordo and other far-distant counties, many of them having traveled from 100 to 150 miles. The greatest enthusiasm marked the proceedings, and the utmost unanimity prevailed upon the great question for which we had all assembled. Scores of speeches were made, all pointing to the great issue, and every one of them marked by ability. Men accustomed to attend political gatherings, and who had assembled in con-

ventions in Eastern States, remarked that they had never witnessed such a manifestation of talent. During the afternoon and evening one after another took the floor in favor of the limitation of slave territory, sundered the ties that bound him to his old party, and gave in his allegiance to the Republican party. It was an experience meeting, and men in the candor of their hearts briefly, tersely told of their bitter experience in the schools of the old parties. The happiest feeling prevailed, and men felt as though they had indeed assembled for a great and noble purpose, and that their constituents who had entrusted to them a question of such vital importance expected of them that they would do their work satisfactorily.

It was done satisfactorily. A platform was constructed upon which every man opposed to the encroachments of slavery upon free territory could stand."

Jacob Butler, afterwards Speaker in the General Assembly and Attorney-General of the State, a delegate from Muscatine county, being one of the most enthusiastic among the members, after the unanimous adoption of the platform, jumped on to his desk swinging his hat, when he shouted, "Mr. President, I am now like Simeon of old—'Mine eyes have seen the salvation of the Lord; now let thou thy servant depart in peace.'" His was but the *expression* of joy *felt* by a great many others.

This convention was not called as a mass or delegate meeting, and some came simply as citizens of the State, and some as delegates from counties; but it was finally resolved into a delegate body, each county being entitled to a specified number of votes. It met in the morning and the formal business was completed soon after dinner. The committee on platform was sent out, and so many diverse opinions and interests were represented that had to be compromised and harmonized, that the committee were out not only a good part of the afternoon, but till late in the night, and the time of the convention was in the mean time spent in listening to speeches from various persons as the spirit moved them or as they were called out.

The firm of Clark & Kirkwood, in addition to the farm and mill at Coralville, two miles up the river, had a store in

the city, and while Mr. Kirkwood superintended the farm and mill Mr. Clark took charge of the store.

In the afternoon of the day on which the convention was held Mr. Clark went up to the mill and asked Mr. K. if he was not going down to it, when Mr. K. replied that "the members were all strangers to him, and, besides, there was so much to do in the mill he could not well leave." Mr. C. answered: "There are one or two of your old Ohio friends there that would like to see you;" whereupon Mr. K. came down and spent the remainder of the day and evening in the meeting. There were several of Mr. K.'s neighbors, the writer among them, who were desirous of hearing him on the political questions of the day, and about half a dozen of them determined to take different positions in the crowd, for the room was full, and as soon as one called for him the others were to repeat the call till he responded. While the call was being made, as he was a stranger among them, loud whispers of, "Who's Kirkwood? Who's Kirkwood?" were heard around the room, one of the inquirers asking, in a louder voice than the others, and more earnestly, "Who in h—l is Kirkwood?"

To these repeated calls Mr. K. came forward and, among other things, said that "he had always been a Democrat; had voted for Franklin Pierce, but that he had left the Democratic party, or rather the Democratic party had left him; they had deserted their former principles; that he could not now affiliate with them; that he did not know whether the party now to be formed by this meeting would be one that he could unite and work with." But he talked long enough and strong enough to show that he was in harmony with the leading thought that inspired the convention, and he was enrolled a member and placed on a committee to prepare an address to the people of the State, having for his associates in that work J. B. Grinnell, H. W. Lathrop, A. Sanders, J. B. Howell, William M. Stone, Hiram Price, J. A. Parvin and L. A. Thomas.

This was Mr. Kirkwood's first introduction to the politicians and people of Iowa, and the question, "Who's Kirkwood?" is not whispered into any one's ears to-day, for the answer to it is inscribed on the brightest pages of the State's history.

The following summer Mr. Kirkwood was nominated for and elected to the Senate by the Republicans of Johnson and Iowa counties over his Democratic competitor, J. D. Templin, by a good majority.

One of the arguments made use of by his opponent to get the support of the voters of Iowa county was that Mr. Kirkwood was the owner of, and was supporting, a dam across the Iowa river, in Johnson county, that prevented the large fish from ascending it, and if he (Templin) should be elected, he would have a law passed so that the fish should not be obstructed in their ascent, and when the voters in Iowa county wanted to catch some large ones they would not have to travel twenty or thirty miles to the foot of Kirkwood's dam to do it. This is the first instance on record of a politician trying to buy votes with fresh fish, and those fish running at large in the Iowa river.

At this time the country was aroused on the subject of the encroachments of slavery into free territory in the settlement of the new territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and Governor Grimes, in the month of July of this year, in calling an extra session of the legislature to take action on the grant of land by Congress for the construction of railroads across the State, among other topics alluded to in his message, says:

"Concurring in the general desire that your session may be short, and that your time may be occupied solely by matters relating to the State, I do not deem it proper to call your attention at length to the deplorable condition of affairs in Kansas and at our National Capital. It would be an error to suppose that my failure to do so is attributed to any want of sympathy with the patriotic and devoted men who are struggling for the right of free speech, free labor, free soil and a free press in that territory and in the councils of the nation."

In his message to the legislature, in December, Governor Grimes refers to the subject again, but in connection with the treatment, by border ruffians from Missouri, of citizens of Iowa, who had settled in Kansas.

On the first day of December, 1856, Mr. Kirkwood took his seat as a member of the State Senate. This body at this, the last session held under the old constitution, and the last regular one held at Iowa City, consisted of thirty-three members. Mr. K. had a place on three committees, they being those on Public Buildings, Railroads and Federal Relations, being chairman of the latter; and, from a partizan standpoint, this was the most important committee appointed, as to it would be referred all the matters relating to questions on the most important and exciting topics of the time, the relation of the States to each other, and to the General Government on the question of slavery extension and slavery restriction.

As indicating the interest manifested on this subject at the time it may be stated that the second bill introduced in the house at this session was a

JOINT RESOLUTION

entitled, Instructions to Our Senators and Representatives in Congress in Relation to Slavery and the Admission of Kansas into the Union.

WHEREAS, Under the Constitution of the United States, Freedom is national and Slavery sectional, and believing that the peace, welfare and honor of the country imperatively require that our National domain shall be preserved Free, Free Homes, for Free Men; and believing it to have been the settled policy of our Fathers dictated by reason and exalted patriotism, to prohibit the extension of Slavery and make Freedom the law of our National Progress. Therefore be it

Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa, That we are unqualifiedly opposed to the extension of Slavery within the jurisdiction or by the sanction of the General Government, and insist that Congress shall exert all constitutional power to preserve our National Territory Free.

Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives be requested to exert their influence and vote for the

admission of Kansas into the Union as a Free State, and to oppose its admission with a constitution establishing or tolerating Slavery.

Resolved, That the Governor be and is hereby requested to transmit a copy of the above preamble and resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

Mr. Brigham, on the Democratic side of the Senate, offered the following substitute for the joint resolution:

Resolved, That it is the imperative duty of the General Government to protect all actual residents in the respective Territories of the United States, and all persons seeking homes there, in the full and free enjoyments of all legal and constitutional rights of person and property.

Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives respectfully requested, to use all constitutional means in their power to cause an immediate repeal of all laws of the Territory of Kansas which unreasonably abridge the right of suffrage, require extraordinary test oaths as a qualification for civil or political office, and are incompatible with the rights of free speech and a free press.

Resolved, That while we entertain and express the confident hope, that the people of Kansas will at a proper time, organize and adopt for her government a constitution prohibiting the institution of domestic Slavery, we still recognize their right to determine and manage their own domestic institutions in their own way, and be admitted as one of the States of this Union,

Provided, Her constitution and form of government be republican.

Mr. Kirkwood offered the following amendment to this Democratic substitute:

To insert after the words "their own way" and before the words "and be admitted the following,"

Provided, That the power of the people who may settle in our Territories, to establish therein the systems of human slavery or polygamy, is not essential to the free enjoyment of all the rights of self-government.

The writer hereof who was then a correspondent for a Chicago paper, but did not have a seat in the "reporter's gallery," for the Senate Chamber of that time had none, but had a seat alongside of an honorable Senator, then wrote:

"Never have we seen more consternation in a friendly circle than this created among the dozen Democrats in the Senate. Had a bomb shell burst among them, they could not have been more disconcerted.

Here was a dilemma, they must either vote for polygamy and slavery, or vote against them, they could not ride the non-intervention hobby and say to slavery, 'we neither love nor hate you, go where you please, and to polygamy you may do the same.'

"A motion was made by Mr. Thurston to strike out polygamy from the substitute, but it was voted down.

"In introducing his amendment Mr. Kirkwood made decidedly the best speech that has been delivered this session. He is the Ajax of the Senate, at least a head and shoulders above all his compeers.

"He said he was opposed to generalities, and would come to the question at once. He was in favor of the principle of self-government, but the right of self-government does not imply the right, authority or power to take away any of the natural rights of others. If the Democratic doctrines of to-day are right, we present to the countries of Europe the sad spectacle that our General Government looks with equal approbation on freedom and slavery, and has not the power, or at best the independence to choose between the two. If our country has the power and right to acquire free territory, it has the power and right to keep it free. We got Utah and New Mexico free; not a slave breathed on the soil of either, and yet we are told by the Democratic party, that we have no power to keep them free. I have been a long time a Democrat, I voted for Franklin Pierce, but I do not now believe this to be sound Democratic doctrine and never did while acting with that party. Before the final vote was taken the Senate adjourned, which gave the Democrats a breathing spell in which to recover from their consternation."

In a subsequent letter the same writer says:

"The debate on the Kansas resolutions closed to-day. It has taken a very wide range, and the questions involved were ably discussed on both sides. Among the best speeches was that made by Mr. McPherson of Warren county. Hailing from a senatorial district of new counties on the 'Missouri slope,' he was at first thought to be a kind of 'linsey woolsey' Senator from the wild frontier, but that impression is now wholly dissipated. He is but thirty years of age and though a North Carolinian by birth, he is one of the soundest Republicans on the floor of the Senate.

"That part of Mr. Kirkwood's amendment relating to polygamy elicited a warm debate and the 'latter day saints' had their doctrine closely analyzed and roughly handled.

"Mr. Kirkwood said that progress was the watch-word of the Democratic party. He traced the history of legislation in regard to the territories down to the year 1852, and demonstrated the fact that Congress had, till that time, recognized and exercised the power of repealing all such laws passed by the territorial legislatures as they pleased.

The doctrine of squatter sovereignty in the territories was 'Democratic progress' in politics, and the doctrine of polygamy which was preached by Joseph Smith and is now promulgated by Brigham Young, and practiced by the settlers of Utah, is the corresponding 'progress' in theology.

"Mr. Test said it could not be proved that polygamy existed in Utah. The Mormons were married to but one wife, they were sealed to the others, and those to whom they were sealed were not their legal wives.

"Mr. Kirkwood replied that all our commentators on common law called marriage a domestic institution. Polygamy is marriage, therefore polygamy is a domestic institution. He read from an official report made to the President of the United States by certain territorial officers of Utah, showing that polygamy was boldly and openly practiced there, and recognized as one of their institutions by the citizens of that Territory, and if the Democratic members were in favor of permitting the people of Utah to cherish this as one of their institutions, and come into the Union with it, he wanted them to say so on the record, and if not he wanted their negation equally on the record. This is soon to become a practical question, and as it is one in which Iowa is interested, our Senators in Congress should be instructed in relation to it. It was in a fair way to become as much of an institution as slavery. It was growing up in the same way. Slavery was not recognized by law when introduced into the country. At first it was looked upon with apprehension, then tolerated, and finally established and protected by law, till in some parts of the country it had become interwoven with the whole net work of society. Just so it is with polygamy, and we should embrace the first opportunity to check it.

"Upon a joint-resolution instructing our Senators and requesting our Representatives in Congress to vote against the alteration of our naturalization laws, and for the passage of a law preventing the importation by foreign governments of felons and paupers, Mr. Kirkwood said he was in favor of the resolution presented, but he wished something further. It is well known that in some localities a large number of fraudulent naturalization papers had been issued on election day, or a short time before, and those to whom they had been issued voted at some of the late State elections. The investigation in the late contested election case in Philadelphia, showed that many of these papers had been thrown into the houses, and clandestinely placed in the pockets of those who were not voters; that these had been used by those to whom they had been thus given, and he was in favor of having something done to put a stop to such operations and punish those engaged in them.

"Mr. Trimble thought the passage of these resolutions at this time

would not affect our Representatives now either one way or the other. Two years ago it might have done something for them. There were many then who had great fears of the influence of Dutch Krout, Irish Whiskey and the Pope of Rome, but now that storm at one time so threatening had passed away, and had been succeeded by a calm. On the floor of the Senate there was but one who had remained firm in his first love. The principles embraced in the resolutions he had ever cherished and advocated.

"Mr. Foster inquired who had left their first love. He knew of none who had gone further astray than Democratic Senators. They had left their first love in deserting the principles of Jefferson. Certainly the Democratic Senator from Marion (Mr. Neal) had left his first love in voting for Hale for president in 1852 and for Buchanan now.

"Mr. Test said he did not know where the Republican party was on this question. It was made up of the fragments of the Know Nothing party.

"Mr. Carter inquired why the Senator from Davis (Mr. Trimble) was elected in a county where the Know Nothings were once largely in the ascendancy, if the Republicans had absorbed that party.

"Mr. Brigham said the records of the election in Pennsylvania showed that Senators were in a party which had affiliated with the Know Nothings. The Democratic party had always stood by the oppressed, and he hoped they always would.

"Mr. Jenkins said he was glad to see Senators in such good humor; when the Kansas resolutions were under consideration some of them were restive. Can they now be strangers to the fact that during the Presidential contest, the Democratic papers complimented the American party and its candidates in the most honied words? Why the change? When this American party promised to become a formidable rival it was called by the hard names "Dark Lanternites," "Hindoos," etc. What are now called by them the "patriotic Whigs," were once stigmatized by them as the worst enemies of their country. When the charge was made that the Republicans had absorbed the old Know Nothing party, he would take them to his county where a prominent Democrat had said he hoped he would be able soon to find a member of the Democratic party that had not been a member of a Know Nothing council.'

"Mr. McPherson said he had never been a Know Nothing, he did not wish to abridge the period of naturalization, but he would punish the frauds in issuing false papers.

"The bill appropriating \$100,000 for the building for the Insane Asylum being under consideration, Mr. Kirkwood said he should support the bill from economical considerations, and the duties we owe to the unfortunate insane of the State. Those for whom this building is

to be erected need prompt and efficient attention, and the longer means are delayed for their benefit so much more is the prospect of their recovery lessened. If this building is not soon put up, our insane, when they become maniacs, will have to be shut up in our jails, where they cannot receive the attention their case demands, and where their condition is becoming more and more hopeless."

It was during the session of this General Assembly that Mr. Harlan was ousted from his seat in the United States Senate, and the correspondent writing upon this subject says:

"The ousting of Mr. Harlan from his seat in the United States Senate, will devolve upon this Legislature the duty of filling the vacancy. He will be re-elected by the unanimous vote of his party. There are few men in the State that have a stronger hold on the affections of the people of the State than he. In the spring of 1847 they elected him to the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction. He entered upon the discharge of the duties of the office and was ousted from it on account of some informalities in the law providing for his election. At the succeeding election he was a candidate, and claimed to have been elected, but was again cheated out of it by a maneuver in canvassing the votes. His friends wishing to show the confidence they reposed in him, presented his name as a candidate for Governor at the next gubernatorial convention, where he received the nomination without opposition; but during the canvass it was ascertained that if elected he would not have reached the age required by the Constitution, and, therefore, he declined the nomination."

Three days later this correspondent writes:

"This is one of the proudest days in the political history of our State. She has to-day given the revolutionary and disorganizing clique which claims to be the Democratic party, one of the most signal rebukes ever administered. By a vote of sixty-three to thirty-six, the joint convention of the two houses re-elected Hon. Jas. Harlan to the United States Senate.

"It has become the custom of political parties of all complexions to caucus for all candidates for all offices, and on all occasions, but so clear was the indication of the popular will in this instance, that the Republican members went into the joint convention without even the least consultation, and cast their undivided vote for Mr. Harlan. The unanimity with which this choice has been made, is no less remarkable than the dispatch with which Mr. Harlan has been returned. Last Monday the vote for his expulsion from the United States Senate was taken and within five days from that time, he has returned to his constituents, and is again on his return to Washington

with his credentials in his pocket. Mr. Harlan arrived here yesterday and this evening addressed a meeting of the citizens and members of the Legislature, held in the Senate Chamber.

"He reviewed the history of his case from its very inception, made a clear analysis of each event connected with it, and made some of the Democrats, who two years ago participated in the disgraceful scenes of that period, so ashamed of themselves that it will be with difficulty they can by any means sufficiently expiate their shame. He told them that their own political friends at Washington had denounced in the harshest language their disorganizing schemes to prevent an election two years ago. He told the Democratic members of the present legislature that it was in obedience to their express dictation, that Senator Jones had called up the protest against his (Harlan's) holding his seat, and had passed it to final action. He gave his auditors a brief exposition of his position on the great issue of the times, and was frequently greeted with the most hearty applause. He told his friends that there was to be a grave question presented in a decision of the Supreme Court on the great issue now before the country, and it was one they must be prepared to meet. He referred to an opinion delivered by Chief Justice Marshall, in which the court decided that "Congress in the Territories possessed all the powers of a State and the General Government combined," and he said he felt bound by that decision, and should support it; that it was made when it was not extorted from the court by the over-powering influence of a great political party."

Mr. Kirkwood has always been a friend of the State Historical society and on January 23, 1857, during the infancy of the institution, in his place in the Senate, he secured for it an appropriation from the State of two hundred and fifty dollars annually, and thirty copies of all documents printed by the General Assembly to be distributed by the society to like societies in the several states for the purpose of receiving the like from those states in exchange.

Upon a proposition to tax railroads one hundred dollars per mile and exempt their lands from taxation, Mr. Kirkwood said:

"The opponents of this bill are called the enemies of the railroads, and those who live in towns where these roads already terminate, are charged with being opposed to the bill because they wish to retard the progress of the roads from their towns. When these lands pass into the hands of the railroad companies, they become private property and are subject to the same rules as other private property. It is true

these lands were granted to the State in trust, but that trust terminated when the lands were parted with by the State."

At this time there were but two Congressional Districts in the State, one, the northern, largely Republican, and the other only slightly so. A change took Des Moines, Louisa and Washington from one and transferred them to the other, making them more equal in population and both strongly Republican, and it was charged that the change was made by the Republicans from political motives. Mr. Coolbaugh denounced the scheme in the most unmeasured term.

Mr. Kirkwood (alluding to the stampede the Senator took when the Democratic part of the Senate ran away two years ago to prevent Mr. Harlan's election) said:

"It came with an ill-grace from the Senator from Des Moines (Mr. Coolbaugh) to charge Senators with acting from political motives when the Senatorial stampede in which he was so active a participant was so fresh in the minds of all."

The premonitory mutterings of the great storm that was to break upon the country in 1861 were now being heard. One of these is thus alluded to in a letter from the correspondent heretofore quoted:

"The Governor laid before the Senate a series of 'blood and thunder' resolutions passed by the Arkansas Legislature, and the response thereto by the Legislature of New Hampshire. They are worth a perusal, and I give a synopsis of them. They declare that property in slaves is recognized by the Constitution of the United States, and that each State by being a party to the compact has recognized the same and is bound by such recognition, and that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise is in accordance with this recognition. They assert that opposition to this repeal in the Northern States is at war with the letter and spirit of the constitution, violative of plighted faith, and a traitorous blow aimed at the rights of the South. They further declare that the people of Ohio have pursued an unjust and odious course in their fanatical hostility to an institution for which they are not responsible, in their encouragement of known felons, and endorsement of reputed and shameless violations of law and decency in their establishment of Abolition presses and circulation of incendiary documents, and that it is the duty of the people of Arkansas to discontinue all social and commercial relations with the citizens of said State, and the

same recommended as a punishment of past outrages and a preventive of future aggressions.

"The Legislature of New Hampshire responded to these by denying that the constitution recognizes property in slaves, and they assert that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was a wanton outrage on the sentiments, rights and feelings of the people of the North, and a perfidious and treacherous violation of national faith. They declare they will not consent to the admission of any slave State from any territory north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, and that while they are attached to the Union, they will not, to avoid any crisis, submit to the introduction of slavery into any territory for thirty years consecrated to freedom; that threats of disunion coming from any of the slave States, unless they are permitted to regulate the policy of the General Government on the subject of slavery, have lost their terrors with the people of New Hampshire, and that they will maintain their right at all hazards consistent with the honor of the Constitution; that it will be time for the people of Arkansas to complain of the legislation of the free States relating to slavery when the slave States have corrected their own, and when the lives, liberty and property of the people of the free States are made safe therein. They state that they have no fears that the people of Ohio will be frightened from what they believe *their* duty or interest by any threats coming from Arkansas, or any other slave State, and that they will unite with and sustain the people of Ohio in all consistent efforts to resist the aggressions of the slave power."



CHAPTER V.

Republicans Elect Their Ticket in August—Are Defeated the Next April—Mr. Kirkwood Takes the Stump—Speaks at West Union in Borrowed Clothes—Offers to Support Grimes for Senator—Governor Grimes Elected—Nebraska Skin Plasters—Dred Scott Decision—Joint Resolutions—Personal of the Seventh General Assembly—Banquet to State Officers—Also to Citizens—Nominated for Governor—Joint Canvass—Ride with Ox Team—Elected—Inaugural Address—Financial Failure in 1857—Railroad Prediction.

The following August the Republicans elected the ticket nominated in February, 1856, by over seven thousand majority, but in the following April, when three State officers were to be chosen, only one Republican was elected, and he by the meagre majority of 315, while the two Democrats got each over 500. With this showing it looked as though the State was falling back into the arms of Democracy again, and that the newly formed Republican party of Iowa was destined to be short lived.

In August, 1857, Ralph P. Lowe was nominated by the Republicans for governor, and Ben M. Samuels their pet and idol by the Democrats. Mr. Samuels was a man of considerable talent, of fine presence, and withal a very fluent, attractive and able speaker.

Under such a state of affairs it looked as though the Republicans would have to put forth their best efforts to succeed. Gov. Grimes, who had been on a visit to his old New Hampshire home, had previous to his going away made arrangements with J. W. Rankin of Keokuk, a neighbor and particular friend of Mr. Lowe, to stump with him a portion of the northeast part of the State, where Mr. Samuels was supposed to be very strong, and they were to meet for their start at Iowa City. In the mean time Mr. Rankin had been nominated for the Senate in his own county, and had to

remain at home to attend to the canvass there, a fact which Gov. Grimes learned on his arrival at Iowa City.

The day of Gov. Grimes' arrival, Mr. Kirkwood had come into town from his mill on business connected with it, when on the sidewalk he met a boy, sent for that purpose, who informed him that some men at the State House wanted to see him. Thither he went and found Gov. Grimes and several others, who in consultation had sent for him to take Mr. Rankin's place on the stump. Mr. Kirkwood at first peremptorily declined, stating that his partner, Mr. Clark, was away from home, and that in addition to the mill and a 1,200 acre farm, he had to keep an oversight of the store in town. But as there was to be a United States Senator elected the next winter, and it was necessary that every effort should be put forth to hold the State for the Republicans, and elect a Republican successor to Gov. Grimes, Mr. Kirkwood consented to sacrifice his own personal interest for the public good and accompany Gov. Grimes, but only on the condition that he should be permitted to return in a few days as soon as someone else could be got to take his place, and so laying aside his flour-dusted coat, and packing his grip sack, they left Iowa City together, traveling as they had to in ante-railroad times in a two-horse buggy.

The few days that Mr. Kirkwood was to spend in this work lengthened themselves to three weeks, the man to take his place was never found, and the Republicans in the sixteen counties got the benefit of the herculean labors of these two Republican "wheel horses."

Previous to this time the acquaintance of these two men had not been very intimate, only such as they would get in an official intercourse as Governor and State Senator. But they had learned what each other was by reputation as a platform speaker, the one in his canvass through the State as candidate for Governor in 1854, and the other as candidate for State Senator in the canvass in his own district

in 1856, as well as subsequently on the floor of the State Senate.

On their way they stopped over night at Cedar Rapids, where a competitor of E. N. Bates, who was an aspirant for legislative honors on the Republican side endeavored to secure the influence of Gov. Grimes against this aspirant, on the ground that he was opposed to the election of Gov. Grimes for United States Senator. Gov. Grimes' advice to him was: "Let nothing for or against me have any part in this election, but choose some good Republican regardless of whom he will support for Senator."

This conversation was overheard by Mr. Kirkwood and it left the impression with him that Gov. Grimes was laboring solely for the general good, instead of his own individual interest.

This was one of the very wet seasons in Iowa, and in traversing the county the rivers were found at flood tide, the creeks bank full, the sloughs themselves considerable streams, and our travelers often found themselves traveling much in the rain, sometimes being uncomfortably wet on arriving at their stopping place, but though made under difficulties, the appointments were all filled, good audiences addressed, and an increased Republican vote was the result of their combined labors and the whole ticket was elected by a good majority, and that majority was obtained measurably through the efforts of these two men in that few weeks' canvass.

There was a little episode in this canvass that is not on the usual program of stump speakers. They had an appointment to speak at West Union in the evening, and had to make an all day's ride to reach the place. Most of that day's ride was in the rain, not a drizzle, but a good orthodox down pour, in which water was at a big discount, and the result was they were about as wet as water could make them, and it came down so plentifully that a couple of basins were found in the glazed leather cushions on which they were

riding, and they finished their ride with these basins full and running over.

Speaking under these circumstances was not to be thought of. They would have to spend the evening standing around the fire to get dry. The reputation of these speakers had preceded them. Political enthusiasm was at a white heat. A large crowd was gathering. But a couple of speakers, dripping wet from shirt collars to stocking, were not in a good condition to entertain an audience. Someone, rich in expedients, suggested that a couple of dry suits could be borrowed, and borrowed they were, and a couple of comely clad speakers, in dry, if not "glove fitting" clothing, most interestingly entertained an eager and well instructed audience.

S. W. Cole, the hotel keeper where they put up, was in the "second-hand clothing" business long enough to obtain and furnish these "dry suits."

During most of this canvass Mr. Kirkwood spoke first and Gov. Grimes last, but at an evening meeting held in Guttenburg the order was reversed, Gov. Grimes spoke longer and more eloquently than he was accustomed to do, leaving Mr. Kirkwood less time than he usually occupied, and he therefore concluded that instead of his usually elaborate speech, he would present only its best points, and elucidate them with some aptly told stories, which were so telling they were cheered to the echo by frequent rounds of applause.

At the close of the meeting Frank Rodman, an enthusiastic German Republican, who had been a member of the legislature, said to them: "You are shust the two men to go togedder. Gov. Krimes makes grand, good speech, and Mr. Girkwood is full of good points, and he tells fine stories and makes fun for de boys."

Before the close of their three weeks' canvass, and after they had made each others acquaintance quite fully, Mr.

Kirkwood, without a hint, solicitation or suggestion of any kind on the subject from him, told Gov. Grimes one day as they were riding along, that he ought to be our next United States Senator, and that as a member of the legislature he would like to support him for that office, which was responded to by Gov. Grimes saying that he would like his support in case he was a candidate for the office as he probably would be.

On his arrival home, Mr. Kirkwood found that W. Penn Clark, one of his immediate constituents and a near neighbor, had become a candidate for United States Senator, and that he, of course, expected the support of his home member. Mr. Kirkwood, by letter, apprised Governor Grimes of this state of affairs, whereupon he replied, absolving Mr. K. from any obligation to support him under the circumstances. Mr. Clark got the support of his home member until it became certain that he could not be elected, when his friends endeavored to secure Mr. K.'s influence for another than Governor Grimes, but Mr. K. told them that his vote and influence had been due to, and had been used for, Mr. Clark, and it was not transferable by any one but himself, and having discharged all his obligations to Mr. Clark, neither he nor his friends had any more claim upon him. Mr. K. then threw his vote and influence for Governor Grimes and his election was secured.

The year 1858 was a memorable one in the legislative history of Iowa. The State had spent the first twelve years of its existence under an anti-bank constitution, using a currency in all the commercial transactions of the people over which she had no control, and to which she could give no character, and the people were subjected to the use of the poorest and most irredeemable currency afloat in the country.

During the latter part of this dozen years of history, those of our people who wished to engage in banking business crossed the Missouri river into Nebraska, and there

established banks, whose notes were to be the main currency of the money users of Iowa, and then recrossed the river and put those notes afloat amongst us. How much we all then suffered from the use of what became to us at last worthless trash, in the form of money, is only known to those who then used it. In the financial crash of 1857 these notes were on a par with the forest leaves of autumn, and those bankers who had issued them found themselves bankrupt.

An extract from Governor Lowe's inaugural address, delivered to the Seventh General Assembly, is a good index of the condition we were then in. He says:

"In the absence of a national paper currency, and with an established policy of seventy years' standing in the use of a mixed currency of paper and metal by the States, each for itself providing and regulating its own circulating medium, it would seem to be the very climax of human folly for a single State possessing equal powers to *lean* wholly upon other States and foreign corporations for its currency. Yet Iowa from the beginning has been guilty of this great folly, the effect of which has been to keep out that amount of fair proportion of gold and silver which a wise and well-regulated banking system would have necessarily supplied, and subjected us to the necessity, as well as the hazard, of employing the paper of a thousand banking institutions in other States, at an immense annual cost in the shape of interest, failures and counterfeits, and now, when the whole country is overtaken by a money crisis in which many of their banks have gone into liquidation and others have withdrawn their issues, we find ourselves destitute of a circulating medium.

"It is needless to disguise the fact that, like the balance of the civilized world, we are greatly in debt, with no disposition, however, to break faith with our creditors. Possessing millions of produce and other good property, still we have no money or available credit to meet our liabilities."

At this session Mr. Kirkwood was chairman of the committee on Federal Relations and had a place on the committees on Schools and Universities, on Banks and on Public Buildings.

About this time the country was aroused by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, or rather the opinions and dicta of some of the Judges of that court in the

Dred Scott case, and no less so on the admission of **Kansas** into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution, and the legislature took strong ground in criticising the court, as well as the National Administration, in both these cases.

Governor Grimes, in his annual, and Governor Lowe, in his inaugural, message, took also strong and decided ground against the action of both, and they were in full accord with the legislature, which expressed itself on these subjects in the passage of a set of joint resolutions, in which the action of the court and the National Administration were both severely criticised and condemned, and our Senators in Congress were called upon to resign unless they could oppose the admission of **Kansas** under the Lecompton Constitution.

The State of Iowa, like most others, has had its periods of infancy, childhood, youth and manhood. Its territorial days were its infancy, the administrations of Governors Briggs and Hempstead its childhood, those of Grimes and Lowe its youth, and those following its manhood.

Never in the history of the State has there been an abler General Assembly than the Seventh, which was the first one to meet, in 1858, at Des Moines, the new capital, when the State was leaving its youthful condition and entering upon that of incipient manhood. It was the first to assemble under the new constitution. Adapting laws to its new provisions—enacting them for the creation of banks—considering means for the more thorough and efficient plans of county organization—passing upon measures for the relief of the people from their financial embarrassment, caused by the financial crisis of the previous year—reorganization of our system of popular education, in which they had the assistance of such able and experienced educators as Horace Mann and Amos Dean—remodeling the judiciary system—wrestling with the problem of the Des Moines River Improvement Company—rescuing our magnificent school fund from waste, caused by an unfaithful public officer—providing for a more

prompt collection of taxes, and building up our reformatory, charitable, penal and higher educational institutions, were among the measures that demanded attention.

To perform these labors there were in the Senate such men as Rankin, Brigham, Coolbaugh, Trimble, Saunders, Anderson, Pusey, Patterson, Kirkwood, Cattell, Grinnell and their associates, and in the House such men of age and experience as Lincoln Clark, Shelladay, Ayers, Streeter, with men younger in years, but equal in ability, like Casady of Mahaska, SeEVERS, Edwards and Bradley; while it contained a galaxy of sixteen young men, the equals of whom are rarely found in any legislative body. They were Belknap, McCrary, Wilson, Gue, Wright, Bates, Carpenter, Drummond, Jackson, Curtis, Clune, Sprague, Woodward, Beal, Bennett and Casady of Woodbury. Some were but a few years out of their "teens," McCrary being but 22, and all were in the "twenties;" but there were giants among them.

Of these, Belknap afterwards became Secretary of War; McCrary, Secretary of War and afterwards a Judge on the bench of a United States Court; Wilson, a United States Senator; Carpenter, Governor of the State; Gue, Lieutenant-Governor and Wright a Brigadier-General, while others of them held high and responsible positions. Few brighter stars have shone in the intellectual firmament than Tom Drummond and T. Walter Jackson. It is a noteworthy fact that two of these youngsters, Wright and Gue, fought through and procured the passage of the bill establishing the Agricultural College, by a vote of 49 to 5, in face of an adverse report upon it from the Committee of Ways and Means. Eight years later these same two youngsters, as presiding officers in the two branches of the Eleventh General Assembly, one as Lieutenant-Governor and the other as Speaker of the House, certified the election to the United States Senate of Samuel J. Kirkwood, one of their co-law-makers at this session.

The average age of members of the House was under forty years. Mr. Kirkwood was chairman of the committee on Federal Relations, and it was an important one, for at this time those relations were not of the most friendly character. As chairman of that committee he introduced the following

JOINT RESOLUTIONS :

Of the General Assembly of the State of Iowa touching the opinions of some of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States on political questions, incorporated in the opinion of that court, in the case of Scott vs. Sandford.

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States, in the recent case of *Scott vs. Sandford*, after expressly deciding that it had not jurisdiction of the case by deciding that the plaintiff, Scott, could not, by reason of his descent, sue in the courts of the United States, has undertaken to pronounce an extra judicial opinion prohibiting the people of the United States, through Congress, and the people of the territories, through their local governments, instituted under the authority of Congress, from any control of the question of slavery within the territories of the United States, and legalizing slavery in all those territories; and,

WHEREAS, Such extra judicial opinion subordinates the political power and interests of our whole people to the cupidity and ambition of a few thousand slave-holders, who are thereby enabled to carry the odious institution of slavery wherever the national power extends, thereby degrading free labor in all the territories which the United States now have, or may hereafter acquire, by bringing slave labor in direct competition therewith, predooming such territory to all the blighting influences of the system of human slavery; and,

WHEREAS, Such extra judicial opinion of the Supreme Court is conclusive proof of the settled determination of the slavery propagandists to subvert all those high and holy principles of freedom upon which the American Union was formed, and to degrade it from its intended lofty position as the exemplar and bulwark of freedom into a mere engine for the extension and perpetuation of the barbarous and detestable system of chattel slavery. Therefore, it is as the sense of the people of Iowa,

Resolved, That the extra judicial opinion of the Supreme Court in the case of *Dred Scott* is not binding in law or conscience upon the Government or people of the United States, and that it is of an import so alarming and dangerous as to demand the instant and emphatic reprobation of every good citizen.

Resolved, That one of the most dangerous of the political heresies

thus illegitimately announced is that which denies the equality of the free States, and renders them, on account of their free institutions, inferior and subordinate to the slave States by declaring that, by virtue of the Constitution of the United States, slavery goes into all our territories to the exclusion of freedom, and is sustained and protected therein, until the people of the territories form for themselves State Constitutions, at which time, if at all, but certainly not till then, they may rid themselves of the system; and we would be ungrateful to those whose care and foresight provided for us free homes, and derelict in our duty to those who will come after us, did we not promptly and sternly denounce this new doctrine, which, if established, degrades the free States and either confines free labor within its present limits or sends it into our new territories in degrading competition with slave labor.

Resolved, That we still recognize and sustain the time-honored doctrines taught by the early fathers of our political faith, that freedom is the great cardinal principle which underlies, pervades and exalts our whole political system; that the Constitution of the United States does not, in any way, recognize the right of property in man; that slavery as a system is exceptional and purely local, deriving its existence and support wholly from local law. Any person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another State may be reclaimed, not as property, but as a person, who, by the laws of the State whence he escaped owes, or, by the Constitution of the United States, is capable of owing, a debt of service or labor which he must discharge.

Resolved, That the State of Iowa will not allow slavery within her borders, in any form or under any pretext, for any time, however short, be the consequences what they may.

It had been a time-honored custom for the citizens of the Capital, while it was at Iowa City, to give a ball and social party in honor of the Members of the Legislature and State officers, and afterwards one in return was given by them to the citizens.

At the first session held at Des Moines this custom was observed by the people of that city at a banquet and ball in Sherman's Hall, on the 22d of February, and the citizens were treated to one in the Capitol by the members and State officers on the 18th day of March. Mr. Kirkwood was chairman of the Committee of Arrangements. Representatives' Hall was occupied by the dancers, the Senate Chamber

by the promenaders, and supper was furnished in the library and Supreme Court rooms.

The subscription paper providing funds was drawn up and headed by Mr. Kirkwood. It contains the autograph of each member and State officer, and is now preserved in the archives of the State Historical Society as one of the relics of those early days.

Following closely in the wake of the new constitution and laws enacted under it by this General Assembly during the State's incipient manhood, agriculture, its leading industry, entered upon a new and more promising era; improved stock of all breeds and races began to be introduced, new styles of farm implements were adopted, the horse-mower replaced the old scythe, the reaper the hand-cradle, the horse-planter and check-rower the hoe and hand-planter, the two-horse corn cultivator the old shovel plow, and the sulky rake, hay-loader and horse-fork their slow-working, labor-imposing predecessors, till half the boys can now leave the farm, and those left on it can raise more stock and more grain, and do it more easily, than they all could in former days. These things, with our telegraph and railroad systems, then just beginning, have contributed to the development of our State into its present condition of stalwart manhood.

The labors of the Seventh General Assembly being ended, Mr. Kirkwood returned from his legislative duties and honors to his farm and mill, having no political aspirations, and intending to spend there the remainder of his days in the care and oversight of both. But he was not permitted to remain long in the care of them. The following year a new Governor was to be chosen, and though Mr. Kirkwood had no thought or desire of being a candidate for the place, and was not seeking it, still the place sought him.

The Republican State Convention met June 22, 1859, and he was nominated by acclamation, without even an informal ballot being taken. Probably no man in the State did

more to bring Mr. Kirkwood forward for that position than Governor Grimes. The knowledge he had acquired of Mr. Kirkwood's power as a stump speaker in the few weeks they were together in the active work of the canvass of a previous year, in some sixteen counties in the northeast part of the State, satisfied Governor Grimes that Mr. Kirkwood was the man of all others who could canvass the State as a candidate for Governor and carry the people with him.

Augustus Caesar Dodge was the nominee of the Democrats at this election. He had been in official life during his whole residence in the State; had for thirteen years been a member of Congress from Iowa, and for the four years previous to his nomination had been Minister to Spain. During all this time he had been the most popular man in his party in the State, and it was he who they thought could redeem it from the thralldom of Republicanism into which they claimed it had fallen. He had a high estimate of his own power and ability. He seemed to think he stood in his relation to Iowa as Webster, in his palmyest days, did to Massachusetts; Clay, to Kentucky, and Benton to Missouri; that the highest gifts of the State would be given him for the asking, and that in the gubernatorial canvass he would sweep all before him, and his own partisans entertained the same views.

He looked upon his competitor as a man who might be a very good rustic Iowa farmer, or a fair country miller, but could not be a match for Iowa's once favorite statesman, in the race for gubernatorial honors. Had he informed himself in the outset, he would have learned that this rustic farmer had at one time, and that quite recently, been one of Ohio's ablest lawyers, and also one of her experienced legislators.

The Democratic party at this time looked upon the State of Iowa, "the first born child of the Missouri compromise," and the first free State carved out of the Louisiana purchase as an heir loom that had come down to them from Mr. Van



A. C. Dodge

Buren, through successive Democratic administrations, and that the Republicans had stolen it from them; that it must be recovered at all hazards; that it was presumption on the part of the Republicans to think they had any right to keep it. It must be retaken, and Gen. Dodge was the man chosen to lead the Democratic hosts to its rescue, they not dreaming that a political Waterloo was in store for them, where their Napoleon would have to meet a political Wellington and Blucher combined, in the person of a dust-covered miller and a soil-begrimed farmer.

The first speech of the campaign was made by Mr. Kirkwood at Davenport, on the 13th of July, but a list of appointments was made for him commencing at Muscatine on the 25th, but an arrangement was finally made by which the two should canvass the State together, and it opened at Oskaloosa on the 30th of July.

The questions discussed were those of State policy and national affairs. At this time many of our charitable institutions were in their infancy, and large expenditures had been necessary in the erection of buildings for their use, and charges of Republican extravagance in these matters had to be met and refuted. It was charged by Mr. Dodge that the building for the insane at Mt. Pleasant was so extravagantly large that it would not be filled for fifty years, the fallacy of which charge seems most apparent when in less than thirty-five years from that time we have three such, with not much unoccupied room in any one of them, but the exciting topics for discussion were those relating to the compromise measures on slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law, and the attitude of the two parties on them. On these matters Mr. Kirkwood had much the advantage of Gen. Dodge; while the latter had been spending the last four years hobnobbing with royalty at the court of Spain, remote from the discussions of home political questions and not familiar with them; the former had been an active participant in them all, and was well in-

formed on them in all their bearings. The general was placed at such a disadvantage in the discussions that bitter personalities were often indulged in by him, when sound argument failed.

At their first meeting which was at Oskaloosa, and which was held in the day time, Mr. Kirkwood spoke very plainly and forcibly against the Dred Scott decision, the blighting influences of slave labor, and of the efforts of the Democracy to extend and perpetuate that institution.

In reply, Gen. Dodge said in regard to Kansas and the Lecompton Constitution, his sympathies were all in favor of a slave State, stating that the Fugitive Slave Law is a part of the constitution, and he asked Mr. Kirkwood if he supported the Compromise measures of 1850. Mr. Kirkwood replied that in common with the great body of the people of the country he accepted those measures as a settlement of the slavery question. Gen. Dodge then asked if he would aid in carrying out the Fugitive Slave Law. Mr. Kirkwood replied that he would not resist the enforcement of that law, but he would suffer the loss of his right arm, and every dollar's worth of property he possessed, rather than aid in catching a fugitive slave. Mr. Kirkwood then asked Gen. Dodge if he would aid in running down and catching a fugitive slave. Gen. Dodge replied that he would, and that he would do whatever the law commanded him to do.

At the meeting in the evening, Mr. Kirkwood having a very strong aversion to joining the slave hunters, either with or without their blood hounds in the pursuit and recapture of their runaway property, again referred to this matter with the remark, that Gen. Dodge was the first man to avow his willingness to help capture runaway negroes he had found in Iowa. To this Gen. Dodge replied that the stringent provisions of the fugitive slave law were necessary to render it effective.

At the evening meeting, which Gen. Dodge announced in the afternoon would be held, he took the stand, stated how long he had served the people of Iowa, what he had done for his country, connecting himself in his eulogies upon them with Clay, Webster, Douglass and Buchanan, stating that the two former were his friends, that Douglass was his "dear bosom friend," and that Buchanan was his life-long friend. He said Mr. Kirkwood had depicted slavery in its worst aspect. Gen. Dodge declared that slavery in its influence on the blacks was christianizing and civilizing. That the negroes were brought from the jungles of Africa, and in this country were enlightened, christianized and prepared for heaven. In old times, continued he, when a slave ship from Africa reached our shores, the negroes were welcomed with open arms because the people realized that another cargo of human beings was saved from heathenism and perdition.

Replying, Mr. Kirkwood remarked that those present in the afternoon would remember that he had predicted that before long the Democracy would be advocating the revival of the slave trade, because slavery as they would affirm is a christianizing institution, "but I did not expect my competitor would commence it so soon."

Viewing these questions from the standpoint of to-day, it can easily be seen at what a disadvantage Gen. Dodge was put, in his discussion with Mr. Kirkwood.

An amusing incident occurred on their visit to Washington in that county. They had spoken the previous day at Sigourney, and from that place Hon. G. D. Woodin was Mr. Kirkwood's attendant. To give Gen. Dodge a taste of the royal style he had been accustomed to in Spain, his friends had engaged a "coach and four," the only rig of the kind in town, and had gone out on the Sigourney road to meet him and give him a royal welcome and a grand entry into the city. The account of this affair given in a local paper of the time is as follows:

"About ten o'clock our friend Bacon, of fine stock notoriety, brought a 'rig' got up as only Bacon can get up such things, a splendid carriage and four, with a few gentlemen as escort, went out to meet Gen Dodge, and bring him into town. This state of things coming to the knowledge of the Republican brethren, it was determined that an escort befitting the head of the 'plow handle ticket' should be despatched for Mr. Kirkwood. Accordingly a good sized wagon, with a hay rack on, with two yoke of oxen under the guidance of our esteemed fellow citizen, Mr. Jonathan Wilson, and some dozen others, was sent out on the road. Mr. Woodin on coming in sight of the coach, says to Mr. Kirkwood, 'Well, I guess they have come out to meet you in fine style.' However on the other side of the road a little further on, was another vehicle. When within speaking distance one of the men hailing said, 'Be you Sam Kirkwood?' On receiving an affirmative answer, the ox team men said they were a reception committee, and desired Mr. Kirkwood to take a seat in their wagon at once, saying they would explain matters on their way to town. Mr. Kirkwood took a seat with the committee, and with a crack of the whip off they started. In due time the wagon returned with Mr. Kirkwood seated therein, and as it approached the Public Square, hundreds crowded both sides of the street to welcome the novel cortege. Loud and lusty cheers went up from the multitude on all sides, to the no small bewilderment of the astonished oxen, who though civilly enough disposed concluded that something was loose and stopped for deliberation. The continued cheering, however, they construed into some belligerent demonstration, and began to make off at such a rapid rate as to bring Mr. Wilson from his place on the wagon, to administer a few blows of the whip and then he drove them around the square in true farmer style. The wagon stopped in front of the Iowa House where cheer after cheer was given, and Mr. Kirkwood alighted amid the congratulations of his friends.

Soon after, Gen. Dodge and his friends arrived carrying various hickory poles, and made a turn or two about the square in fine style and alighted at the same house, but most of the enthusiasm had been expended on the arrival of the ox wagon."

So hot had Mr. Kirkwood made the discussion for his opponent, and so far short of being a match for him had he proved to be, that he finally refused to continue it to completion, and Mr. Kirkwood carried on the canvass without him, completing it in those parts of the State not previously visited.

On the 13th of August, Hon. Abraham Lincoln made a political speech at Council Bluffs, advocating the election of

Mr. Kirkwood. It will be remembered that this was the year before he was nominated for president.

Seldom has the State been better or more thoroughly canvassed than it was during this campaign. It was opened formally on the 25th of July, and it was not closed till the 8th day of October. Some two weeks' sickness in his family prevented the filling of some appointments by Mr. Kirkwood.

Mr. Kirkwood was elected by a majority of 3,200, being 629 more votes than was received by any other candidate on the ticket.

On the 11th day of January, 1860, before a joint convention of the two houses of the legislature, Gov. Kirkwood took the oath of office and delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS:

Gentlemen of the Senate, and the House of Representatives: The people of Iowa have placed in your hands, for the time being, the law-making power of the State, and therefore they look to you, that during the time you hold this trust, such course of policy shall be pursued and such laws enacted, as will tend to promote the honor and welfare of the State.

The office to which I have been elected, and the responsibilities which I have just assumed, associate me with you to a certain extent in this work, by imposing upon me, among other duties, that of communicating to you such information, as will aid you in the performance of your duties, and recommending to you such measures as in my opinion will, if adopted by you, advance the public welfare.

Under a government like ours, where the people are the source of all political power, the laws are necessarily a fair reflex of the intelligence and morals of the people, and therefore it becomes of the first importance that the standard of intelligence and morality should be raised as high as possible. In this view it has been the settled policy of the State to foster and encourage in all suitable ways, the education of the youths of the State, so that when at a more advanced period of life, they take part in the direction and control of public affairs, they can do so understandingly, and with an intelligent regard to the public welfare. Under our constitution the subject of education has been almost wholly withdrawn from you, and placed in the hands of a board specially constituted for that purpose, leaving with you, however, the power of revising and amending their action. This board

has just closed a session at which they have made such changes in and amendments to the school law as they deemed expedient and proper, and in my opinion it would be prudent for you to interfere with their action only in case that you shall find, upon examination, an overpowering necessity for so doing.

Not only is it highly important that the voice of our people, as expressed through the ballot box, shall be enlightened and intelligent, but it is imperatively necessary that the utterings of that voice be correctly and honestly reported. In a government like ours, without privileged classes, and where the laws affect all alike, we need not fear that a majority of our people will deliberately pursue a policy intended to operate injuriously upon the public welfare, because by so doing they would be acting contrary to their own best interests. We therefore feel at all times safe in submitting quietly and cheerfully to the will of the majority fairly and constitutionally expressed, confident that if at any time, from any cause, the people are led into error, they have the sagacity speedily to detect and the honesty promptly to correct the error. But if through fraud or violence, the ballot box shall cease to report to us correctly and honestly the will of the majority, if corrupt and interested men are enabled to substitute their will for that of the people, then the assurance of safety derived to us from the honesty, the intelligence, and the interest of the people, no longer exists—our confidence in our government is lost, and we feel that we are at the mercy of dishonest men, who seek the control of our affairs, for the purpose of promoting their own private interests rather than the public good. We cannot, therefore, guard with too much care, the sanctity and purity of the ballot box. In my opinion, there is no measure so well calculated to effect this object, as a carefully prepared and well guarded registry law; and I respectfully recommend that measure to your consideration. It may be objected by some, that the operation of such a law is burdensome to the electors. I am satisfied that the supposed difficulty in this respect, is much over-estimated, and even were it not, I cannot conceive that any elector who properly appreciates the value of the privilege he enjoys as such will deem burdensome any reasonable amount of time and attention that it may be necessary for him to bestow, in order to prevent his honest vote from being destroyed by a fraudulent one.

The institutions for the care of the insane, and for the education of the mute and the blind, will, I doubt not, receive from you prompt and cheerful attention and support. Established as they have been, in answer to the requirements of those better feelings of our nature, which prompt us to protect the weak and succor the unfortunate, you may rely with confidence upon the approval by our people, of all reasonable and proper efforts on your part to make them useful and

efficient means for carrying out the noble purposes for which they were created.

I would also recommend to your favorable consideration, the State University, at Iowa City. It is based upon a grant made by the Congress of the United States to this State, for the support of such an institution, and, having accepted the grant, we are bound by a proper sense of State pride, by our duty properly to execute the trust confided to us, and by the interests of education, in which are involved the best interests of the State, to render the institution such an one as will be useful and creditable to the State.

The condition and affairs of the penitentiary, located at Fort Madison, will necessarily engage your careful and serious attention. The safety of society requires that the building be such as will afford proper facilities for the safe confinement of those vicious persons whose liberty is dangerous to the lives and property of peaceful and law abiding citizens.

An agricultural college was originated at the last session of the General Assembly, and has since been located in Story county. Agriculture will be for many years to come, as it has been in times past, that interest which underlies and supports all other interests in our State; and any aid that can legitimately be given to it, should be given generously and not grudgingly. I have not sufficient information touching this institution, to enable me to make any specific suggestions in regard to it, and can only recommend the whole matter to your careful and friendly consideration.

The present condition and future management of the permanent school fund of the State deserve your serious investigation and deliberation. Under former and existing laws, this fund has been lent to individuals, and in many cases either through the carelessness or dishonesty of the officers by whom it has been lent, the securities taken therefor have proved to be entirely inadequate, so that large losses to the fund must ensue. By a provision of our Constitution, all these losses fall upon the State and become a funded debt upon which the State must forever pay the interest. Many of the loans thus made, are now or soon will be falling due, and it becomes a matter of grave importance to determine in what manner the moneys when paid shall be again disposed of. I consider the present system open to much objection. Not only are losses of the principal constantly occurring under it, which the State is bound to make good, but even the interest is not promptly paid, so that the active fund for the support of schools is fluctuating and uncertain. I am strongly inclined to the opinion that a better policy would be to direct the payment of the principal, as it falls due, into the State Treasury, to be used as other moneys for State purposes, bind the State to pay the interest on the same for school purposes. In this way the money would, in the first instance, go to the

benefit of all the people of the State alike by lessening to that extent the amount of money to be raised by taxation, and the interest would, in like manner, be paid by the people and be applied directly to their use in the support of the public schools. If this shall be deemed objectionable, I would recommend that the money when paid in, be invested either in stocks of the United States or in the best stocks of interest-paying States. In case you shall deem it proper to adopt this or a similar policy, it will be advisable to vest in the officers to whom the money shall be paid, in the first place, discretionary power to grant indulgence of time to those borrowers whose loans are amply secured, so as not to cause unnecessary hardship or distress, during our present financial difficulties.

I would also suggest to you the propriety of a careful examination of our revenue system, with a view to ascertain if it cannot be made more certain and efficient. Any system of revenue which permits large amounts of taxes to become delinquent and to be ultimately lost to the State, must be defective, and must operate unjustly and unfairly upon our people. The deficiencies thus created in the revenue must be provided for by additional taxation upon those who have already discharged their duty as citizens by paying the taxes assessed upon them, and they are thus compelled to bear more than their due proportion of the public burden. The laws should provide for the most rigid and exact accountability of all officers charged with the collection, control or disbursement of the public money. Any vagueness of the laws which permits an officer to retain in his hands, without detection, any portion of the public moneys, or to use them for his private benefit, not only defrauds the revenue, but introduces among officials a laxity of morals highly dangerous to the public interest. The Governor is authorized, by a law passed at the last session of the General Assembly, to institute a careful examination of the accounts of the State officers once in each year, and I have not any doubt the law will be found beneficial in its operations. But the amount of money paid by our people into the State Treasury is but a small proportion of the total amount paid by them in the shape of taxes. A much larger amount is paid for county and other purposes, and, in my opinion, the existing laws are defective in not requiring a more careful scrutiny of the accounts of those to whom this money is paid and by whom it is disbursed. I therefore recommend to your consideration, in addition to any other measures your wisdom may suggest, the passage of a law requiring the Judge of each Judicial District to appoint once in each year a skillful accountant in each county of his district, whose duty it shall be to examine carefully the books of each county officer, and to state and record an account between such officer and his county, and, when necessary, between officer and officer. Such examinations by disinterested persons would, in my opinion,

have a decidedly beneficial effect; the expense attending them would be very small, and I have no doubt the people of the counties would cheerfully bear that expense for the satisfaction of knowing that the large amounts of money they pay as taxes are applied to the proper object.

I apprehend it is scarcely necessary for me to recommend to you as close and rigid an economy in the matter of appropriations as is consistent with a proper administration of the affairs of the State. The scarcity of money, consequent upon the financial revulsion of 1857, and the failure of our crops to a great extent since that time, has caused the payment of the taxes necessary to the support of our government to be felt as a sensible burden by our people, and they have the right to demand, and I think do demand, at our hands that until the present pressure is somewhat removed, and our financial affairs have become somewhat more easy and prosperous, we shall limit the expenses of the State to the smallest sum compatible with a due regard to the public interest.

An event has recently occurred in our sister State of Virginia, causing in that State an intense excitement, which has, to a greater or less degree, extended throughout our country. I allude, of course, to the late unlawful invasion of that State by John Brown and his associates. The moving causes that led these misguided men to that mad attempt, in my opinion, may be easily and certainly found. On the 4th of March, 1853, President Pierce was inaugurated as the Chief Magistrate of a happy and united people. The administration of his predecessor had been marked by a settlement of the agitation of the question of slavery, growing out of the acquisition of territory from Mexico, as the administration of Mr. Monroe had been marked by the settlement of a similar agitation in connection with the territory purchased from France during the Presidency of Mr. Jefferson, and as these two settlements covered all the territory then belonging to our government, our people fondly hoped that for a long period of time this vexed and irritating question would be kept out of our national councils, and that the angry and embittered feelings always arising from its discussion would then die out for want of food. As an additional basis upon which to rest this hope, our people had the solemn pledge of honor of the political party then dominant in all the branches of our national government, deliberately given at the time Mr. Pierce was nominated by them for the Presidency, that if placed in power they would resist, to the extent of their power, the agitation of that dangerous question, both in the Congress of the United States and out of it. Unfortunately for the peace of the country, and for the preservation of those kindly and fraternal feelings which should always exist among our people, Mr. Pierce and his political friends did not redeem that pledge. On the contrary, the first important act of his

administration was the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, by which the settlement made during Mr. Monroe's administration of the question of slavery in the territory acquired from France, was set aside, and the fountains of strife so recently closed, again opened to pour forth among our people their bitter waters. The excuse offered for this wanton, uncalled-for and most unfortunate act was the alleged desire, on the part of those who did it, to settle the question of slavery, then in a state of perfect quietude and repose; and this was to be done by introducing into our legislation a new policy which denies to Congress a power claimed for it by the founders of our government, and exercised by it from the beginning; which declares that to be unconstitutional which the makers of the constitution declared to be constitutional, and which rests upon the strange assumption that the Government of the United States cannot set up and maintain in the Territories of the United States a form of government demanded by a majority of our people, and identical in the disputed particular with the form of government of a majority of the States of our confederacy. If the men who did this thing did not know that their action would again produce among us agitation, heartburning, jealousy and ill-will, they were so wholly ignorant of the temper and feelings of our people as to make them unsafe public servants. If they did know, they were unfaithful. In either view, they were faithless to the pledges they had given as the inducement for placing power in their hands. The Kansas-Nebraska bill was long pending, and its passage was strenuously resisted in Congress. The debates in that body upon it were acrimonious and exciting; the discussions in the public press were bitter and inflammatory, and when the passions of the people in the different sections of our country had been thoroughly aroused, their prejudices inflamed, and their pride enlisted in the contest going on in the halls of Congress, that contest was by the passage of the bill, transferred from these halls to the plains of Kansas; from the representatives in Congress to our entire people; and thus was cast into the arena as a prize to be struggled for by an aroused and excited people, a territory which, in size, in soil and in climate, is equal to some of the most powerful monarchies of the old world. Did the men who passed that act expect and desire that struggle to be a friendly and peaceful one? The country would fain so believe; yet such belief requires that we should attribute to them a want of knowledge and foresight but little less criminal in men in their position than would have been the expectation and desire by them that the struggle should be as it was, a hostile and a bloody one.

It is my deliberate conviction that on the day on which the opponents of this new and most unfortunate measure, aided by a few of its original friends, defeated its legitimate consummation by defeating the passage of the so-called Lecompton bill, which sought to enforce

upon the people of Kansas a constitution they abhorred, and which would have required for its enforcement the aid of federal bayonets—on that day, the union of these States met and escaped the greatest peril to which it has yet been subjected. But, happily for all, unexpectedly to the fears of many, adversely perhaps to the wishes of some, that great peril was escaped, and Kansas, with a constitution which accords with the legislation, which in the last generation dedicated her to freedom, and, with the wishes of her people, stands ready to ask admission into our Union as a free State. I do not recur to these past transactions for the purpose of again stirring up ill feelings now measurably appeased, but for the light which, in my opinion, they throw upon present events. It is as true now as it was in the olden time, that “they who sow the wind shall reap the whirlwind.”

During the struggle in Kansas, which makes her story a blot on the page of our country's history, the free State men of that territory were treated by their pro-slavery brethren in that territory and in the States, and by the General Government, as if they had not any rights, legal or natural, which either were bound to respect. Is it strange that some of them should have ceased to respect the rights of those whom they looked upon as their oppressors?—should have learned to hate the institution for whose advancement they were oppressed? During the same period that other new policy called fillibusterism, and the doctrines by which it is sought to be upheld, attained full force and vigor. It was insisted in substance by our Southern brethren, and either openly or tacitly approved by many in the North, that if our people should find upon our borders, or within reasonable reach of us, a weak and helpless nation, who could be attacked with comparative safety, and whose form of government did not attain to our standard of perfection, it was not only the privilege but the mission of such of our people as desired to engage in the laudable undertaking to invade her territory with fire and sword, to bring upon her peaceful inhabitants, men, women and children, all the horrors of war, and having thus carried through and perfected a process of “regeneration” to establish on the ruins of her government our own free institutions, prominent among which, according to the advocates of this doctrine, stands human slavery.

Is it strange that the bare promulgation of these doctrines, acting upon the minds of men maddened by the recollection of wrongs inflicted upon them in Kansas because of their love of freedom should lead them to the conclusion that they should do and dare as much at home for liberty, as those who have oppressed them were doing abroad for slavery? It seems to me most natural, and while I deeply deplore and most unqualifiedly condemn, I cannot wonder at, the recent unfortunate and bloody occurrence at Harper's Ferry. But while we may not wonder at, we must condemn it. It was an act of war—of war against

brethren, and in that a greater crime than the invaders of Cuba and Nicaragua were guilty of, relieved to some extent of its guilt, in the minds of many, by the fact that the blow was struck for freedom, and not for slavery. Still it was a wrong, and as such the deliberate public sentiment of the north, as well as of the south, condemns it. In my opinion, much misapprehension exists on this subject among our southern brethren, and this misapprehension renders proper the present allusion to it. The mass of them relying upon the statements of the leading men of the south, who should know better, and of prominent men in the north, who do know better, but falsify for a purpose, believe that the sympathy expressed by many of our northern people for the leader of that invasion, covers and contains an approval of his act. This is a great, and it may become a dangerous error. While the great mass of our northern people utterly condemn the act of John Brown, they feel and express admiration and sympathy for the disinterestedness of purpose by which they believe he was governed, and for the unflinching courage and calm cheerfulness with which he met the consequences of his failure. Many, very many, of our northern people felt deep sympathy for the gallant Crittenden, who died so bravely in Cuba, for an act they strongly condemned, and the tears of many of the best and bravest of our revolutionary sires bedewed the grave of Andre, who, by their own judgment, died the death of a spy, his sentence approved by Washington. When passion has passed away, and calm reason has resumed its place in the minds of our southern brethren; they will fully appreciate our feelings, and then, if I do not mistake them, while with us they condemn yet pity John Brown as a misguided but not base minded man, they will also with us detest and scorn these men in our midst who now seek by distorting our language and falsifying our sentiments, to use the passions and prejudices of our southern brethren as a means to pave their own base way to power and place.

I cannot concur in the opinion expressed by some persons, that the constituted authorities of the States of this Union have discharged their entire duty, when they have looked to and cared for their own internal affairs, and that they travel out of their legitimate sphere when they in any manner concern themselves with the affairs of our General Government. The several States, as such, are the constituents of one branch of the National Congress, and if it be true that the constituent may and should concern himself with what is done by his representative, it must be true that each State may and should concern herself with the actions of that General Government of which her representatives are a part; if it be true that the States of our Confederacy are interested in the administration and preservation of that compact but for which they would be wholly independent and rival, perhaps hostile sovereignties, instead of one great and united nation,

it must be true that they may and should concern themselves with the manner in which those to whose hands that administration and preservation are committed, discharge their trust.

The passage by Congress of the measure commonly known as the Homestead Bill, would, in my opinion, be productive of much good, preventing in a great degree the acquisition, by speculators, of large bodies of the public lands, to the injury of the actual settlers, and by enabling many honest and industrious poor men who cannot now do so, to enrol themselves in the class of independent farmers who are the support and strength of our country. The government price of a quarter section of land may appear to many a small and insignificant sum, but the many thousands of the farmers of the west who have opened farms either "in the woods" or "on the prairies," can more justly appreciate the great benefits deriveable from that small amount in their work of toil and privation. I respectfully recommend that you memorialize Congress for the passage of such a law.

The building of a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, is a measure which, in my opinion, is demanded by the best interests of our whole country. In case of war with any of the great maritime powers, the States on the Pacific would be peculiarly open to attack, and our Government could afford them the necessary aid for their defense only at great risk and enormous expense. Troops could not be sent to their assistance through our own country, except by the overland route, which experience has shown to be, for an army, almost impracticable; while if sent by any other route, they might be compelled to fight their way to the States they are sent to defend. It seems to me to be a bad policy that would compel us to depend upon other nations for a right of way to our own possessions and our own homes, when we can have such way within our own limits.

A great central trunk route, with branches at either end to accommodate all parts of our country, both upon the Atlantic and Pacific, would meet our wants and commend itself to the sound sense and calm judgment of our people. I also recommend that you memorialize Congress in favor of that measure.

There is one aspect of the vexed and exciting question of slavery to which I wish to direct your attention as one upon which perhaps our whole country can harmonize. Recent events in Virginia have drawn the attention of our Southern brethren to the danger surrounding them, by reason of the great number of free colored persons among them in contact with their slaves, and the excitement of the moment has caused some of their State Legislatures seriously to entertain the terrible proposition to compel this unfortunate people either to become involuntary exiles from the land of their birth or to become slaves. The repugnance, the prejudice, if you will, of the people of the Free States, especially of the northwestern States, against allowing

any large influx of these unfortunates among them, is well known and must be heeded by those who make laws for those States. The dangers and difficulties attendant upon the presence of free colored persons in a slaveholding community, prevent emancipation by many who would otherwise gladly set free their slaves, and have in some States caused the passage of laws prohibiting or greatly hindering emancipation. Indeed the dangers and difficulties are to-day the great hinderance to the abolition of slavery in and by the Slave States, and the apprehended danger that in case the Southern States should abolish slavery, the Free States would at once be overrun by the ignorant slaves just manumitted, is skillfully used by partizan politicians among us, to reconcile the northern mind to the extension of slavery in other directions. Moved by these considerations, I deem it my duty to recommend to your careful and favorable consideration, a plan for the colonization of the free colored population of our country in Central or South America, under the protection of our General Government, brought forward in the Congress of the United States, by a distinguished member of that body from the State of Missouri, with the view that if the measure shall meet your approbation, you may memorialize Congress in its favor. The substance of this plan as subsequently presented in the U. S. Senate, by one of the Senators from Wisconsin, is that our Government shall by treaty with some of the Central or South American Governments acquire "the rights and privileges of settlement and of citizenship for the benefit of such persons of color of African descent, as may voluntarily desire to emigrate from the United States, and form themselves into a colony or colonies under the laws of the State or States to which they may emigrate, the United States, in consideration of the commercial advantages of free trade with such colony or colonies making and securing the necessary and proper engagements to maintain them in the enjoyment of the rights and privileges acquired by such treaty or treaties." The colonization of this unfortunate race in some country peculiarly adapted by climate and production to their use and occupation, has long been a favorite scheme with a large portion of the people in all sections of our country, and until time and experience had shown the operations of the Society which proposed to colonize them in their native country, to be, by reason of the expense, impracticable as a means for relieving our country of the vast numbers of these people among us, that Society received, as it justly deserved, a great degree of public favor. That the operations of that Society have produced and will produce great good to Africa, I have no doubt, and I shall rejoice to see its ability for usefulness largely extended. But experience has shown it to be wholly inefficient as a means of removing from among us this large and rapidly increasing population. Colonization in Central or South America by means of the proximity of the proposed colonies, would be much

less expensive, and therefore more effective, and if the General Government, supported by the several States, should take the matter in hand with earnestness and zeal, it seems to me that we might congratulate ourselves upon having done a work which would not only be productive of great good to ourselves, but also enable us to commence the payment of that vast and accumulated debt we owe this wronged and unfortunate race, and which would, perhaps, enable us to see the beginning of that most desirable end, when our land shall be in truth "the land of the free" as it has been and is "the home of the brave."

In conclusion, permit me to say that although our political horizon is not unclouded, although anger and jealousy have to some extent taken the place of brotherly kindness and good will among our people, although some men occupying high position under our Federal and in some of our State Governments, influenced by pride and passion, under sentiments disloyal to our Union, and others in like high position, but governed by baser motives, either openly or silently approve the sentiments; still, in my opinion, those who love our Constitution and our Union, have not very great cause for alarm. Passion will subside, reason will resume its sway, and then our southern brethren will discover that they have been deceived and misled, as to our feelings and purposes; that the people of the north, while hoping and praying for the day when no slave shall press our soil, yet do neither claim nor desire any power to interfere with slavery in any of the States where it exists; and that the good old ways wherein we walked, when to talk of disunion openly or to approve it silently, was to incur the scorn due a traitor, are ways of pleasantness, and that the good old paths our fathers taught us to tread, are paths of peace. And they will join with us in believing that the men who achieved our independence and framed our Constitution, were as true patriots, and understood the Constitution as well as the statesmen of the present day—will unite with us in following their teachings and walking in their footsteps, and in discarding these new measures, and this new policy which have produced no fruits but those of discord and bitterness, and will again pledge themselves as we to-day pledge ourselves in the full depth and force of its meaning to the sentiment of the true and stern old patriot of the Hermitage—"The Union—it must and shall be preserved."

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

The Legislature was in harmony with the Governor on all subjects presented in the Inaugural Address, and took action on them all except those relating to the Registry law and the colonization of the black population. Our charitable institutions and our Agricultural College were then in their

infancy, and as liberal appropriations were needed for them as the state of our finances would permit.

The Governor entered upon the discharge of his duties during a period that was very unpropitious in many respects. In the year 1856, we had a frost in the month of August that so injured the corn that the crop of that year sold as high as eighty cents a bushel before another was raised. During the following year, 1857, the worst financial cyclone of the century swept over the whole country, breaking up or suspending nearly all our banks and bankrupting nearly every one who had any considerable debts to pay. The next year was one of our very wet seasons, rendering it almost impossible to tend corn, and rusting and blasting our wheat crop to such an extent that whole fields were not worth harvesting, and those that were yielded a product that was very inferior, if not worthless. The currency then in circulation, consisting in great part of "Nebraska Shinplasters," and the issues of banks of the State of Illinois, founded upon State stocks, whose market value was constantly declining, had been blighted by a commercial mildew that shrunk and shriveled it almost as badly as the weather had our wheat crop. These causes, all combined, called for the strictest and most rigid economy in public expenditures, and the Governor recommended that the treasury should be well guarded.

In the address the project of building a Pacific railroad was discussed. This was not the first time the Governor had discussed that topic.

In the year 1848, before any railroad had reached Chicago, a great meeting was held near East Palestine, on the State line between Ohio and Pennsylvania, to celebrate the commencement of work on the first fifty miles of the Pittsburgh and Ft. Wayne road, when the President of the road would be there to throw the first spadeful of dirt, a free dinner would be given and speeches made. A participant at

that scene, Samuel Beeson, now of Liscomb, in this State, says that among the speakers was a lawyer from Mansfield by the name of Kirkwood, and that among other things said by him was that "in spite of all opposition, the road would be built, and at no distant day railroads, like wagon roads, would be built where they were needed, and that in time the Atlantic and Pacific would be united and bound together with bands of iron, and then, with our North and South river system, we could defy the powers of Europe combined." This prediction, made at that railroad meeting forty-five years ago, the Governor has lived to see more than fulfilled.



CHAPTER VI.

Attends the National Convention—Supports Mr. Lincoln—Presidential Candidates—Spirit Lake Massacre—A Call for the Surrender of Coppel—Special Message—Presidential Election—Challenge from Mr. Byington—Answer to Him—Invited to Speak at His Old Home in Mansfield, O.—Electoral and Popular Votes Contrasted—Visits Mr. Lincoln—Attends His Inauguration—Letters to Gov. Grimes—To the Governor of Maryland—Military Companies Tendered to the Governor.

The year 1860, while not memorable for its stirring events, except the election of Mr. Lincoln, was noted for those incidents which gave vent to the underground rumblings that were to burst forth in the following year in an eruptive volcanic explosion of secession that would make the country tremble from centre to circumference. John Brown's body was mouldering in the soil of Virginia, but his soul, typical of that freedom of thought which could not be put down or trammelled by the intolerance and insolence of the slave power, was marching on. Its spirit seemed in its marching to have, if not invaded the Democratic party, at least to have been skirmishing around and hovering over it and so distracted it that it gave us two National Democratic Conventions that year, and made possible the defeat of both their candidates and the election of the nominee of the Republican party whoever he might be.

Governor Kirkwood was favorable to the nomination of Mr. Lincoln as the Republican standard-bearer; and he did not need the letter he received from John A. Kasson, saying, "Pray be at Chicago, if possible, to aid and influence the indiscreet by your counsel," to induce him to do all he could to secure Mr. Lincoln's nomination. He attended that convention in Mr. Lincoln's interest.

The candidates before the convention were Mr. Seward, Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Cameron, Mr. Chase, Mr. Bates, Mr. Dayton, Mr. McLean, Mr. Collamer, Mr. Fremont and Mr. Sumner, and on the first ballot they ranked in the order named, Mr. Seward getting $173\frac{1}{2}$ votes, it requiring 232 to elect. On the second ballot the vote stood: Seward, $184\frac{1}{2}$; Lincoln, 181; Chase, $42\frac{1}{2}$; Bates, 35, Pennsylvania deserting Cameron and voting for Lincoln.

Before the third ballot, Governor Kirkwood, with others, had won over to Mr. Lincoln most of the Ohio delegation, with many of whom he was acquainted, and the result was that on this ballot Mr. Lincoln got four votes more than enough to elect, when, on motion of Mr. Evarts, the head of the New York delegation and the particular friend of Mr. Seward, the nomination was made unanimous.

It is a noteworthy fact that after Mr. Lincoln's election he made the four strongest competitors he had in this convention members of his cabinet, bringing to himself more support, and giving to his administration more strength than he could have done by the appointment of any other four men.

In the year 1857, near the close of one of the most severe winters in this climate, both on account of the depth of the snow and the intensity of the cold, a band of 200 Indians, led on by their chief, Inkpaduta, committed one of the most barbarous massacres near Spirit Lake that ever took place on our Western frontiers, in which forty-one persons were killed, twelve others were missing, probably killed; three badly wounded, and four women were taken prisoners and carried off into captivity. Three companies of troops, under the command of Major Williams, were hastily raised and sent to the theatre of the outrage. They did not arrive till the carnage had taken place, but on their march and return they encountered incredible hardships and endured untold sufferings, many of them freezing their hands and feet, and

two of them freezing to death. As their claims had not all been liquidated, an act was passed at this session making provision for their final payment in full.

For the purpose of enabling the citizens of the Northwestern frontier to defend themselves against marauding bands of Indians, the Governor was authorized to furnish them with arms and ammunition. A small company of minute men was enrolled and an active police employed to act in case of any emergency that might arise in repelling the attacks of hostile Indians, and \$500 was appropriated for this purpose.

On the 3d day of December, 1859, the vengeance and supposed honor of the people of the State of Virginia was partially satisfied by the execution of John Brown, — Cook and Edward Coppoc; but some others had escaped their vengeance, and among them was Barclay Coppoc, a brother of Edward and a citizen of the State of Iowa, and a requisition was made upon the Governor of Iowa by the Governor of Virginia for his delivery, which the Governor of Iowa refused to grant, and he so informed the Virginia Governor, giving his reasons for his action in the premises. It was hinted by some of the pliant tools of the slave power that Governor Kirkwood was not acting in good faith, and was resorting to frivolous excuses for not complying with the requisition. To bring the subject all before them and the public, on the second day of March the House of Representatives passed the following preamble and resolution:

WHEREAS, There has lately appeared in the public press a message, purporting to have been sent by the Governor of the State of Virginia to the Legislature of that State, in which it is stated that a requisition had been made upon the Executive of this State for the rendition of one Barclay Coppoc as a fugitive from justice, and that "the requisition had been refused for reasons stated in said message to be frivolous, and such as have in no previous instances, as the Governor says, to my knowledge, influenced the action of any State Executive in its intercourse with this Commonwealth." Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Governor of this State is requested to communi-

cate to this House all the facts, together with a copy of all papers and correspondence connected with, or growing out of, said requisition and its refusal.

In answer to this resolution the Governor sent the following special message:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, }
MARCH 3, 1860. }

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives: I have received your resolution of yesterday, requesting me to communicate to you all the facts and correspondence connected with or in any way growing out of the demand made upon me for the arrest of Barclay Coppoc, and his surrender to the State of Virginia, as a fugitive from justice, and my reasons for refusing that demand.

The Special Message of the Governor of Virginia referred to in the preamble to your resolution, is of such extraordinary character as in my judgment to render proper the publicity of the information asked for by your resolution. All the papers and correspondence connected with, or in any way growing out of this matter, are the requisition of the Governor of Virginia, a copy of which I transmit, marked A; the affidavit upon which said requisition is based, which I copy in the body of this communication; my letter to the Governor of Virginia, dated January 23, 1860, a copy of which I transmit, marked B; and my letter to him dated January 24, 1860, a copy of which I transmit, marked C. I have not received from the Governor of Virginia a reply to either of my letters to him, and I have not had correspondence upon this subject with any other person.

The facts touching that requisition were these: On the 23d day of January last, an agent of Virginia called upon me and presented his commission from the Governor of that State, as such agent, to receive Coppoc, who was demanded in the same commission as a fugitive from justice, as appeared by an annexed document, of which the following is an exact copy:

“City of Richmond, and State of Virginia, to-wit:

“Andrew Hunter maketh oath and saith, that from information received from several of the prisoners recently condemned and executed at Charleston, Jefferson county, Virginia, and from other facts which have come to his knowledge, he verily believes that a certain Barclay Coppoc was aiding and abetting certain John Brown, and others, who on the sixteenth and seventeenth days of October, in the year 1859, did feloniously and treasonably rebel and commit treason against the commonwealth of Virginia, at a certain place called Harper’s Ferry, in said county of Jefferson, and who did then and there feloniously conspire with and advise certain slaves in the county aforesaid to rebel and make insurrection against their masters, and

against the authority of the laws of said Commonwealth of Virginia—and who did then and there feloniously kill and murder certain Hayward Sheppard, a free negro, and George W. Turner, Fontaine Beckham and Thomas Barclay—and affiant further states that from information recently received, he verily believes that said Barclay Coppoc is a fugitive from justice, now escaping in the State of Iowa.

“Sworn to before me, a Notary Public, in and for the City of Richmond, in the State of Virginia, this ninth day of January, 1860.

“S. H. BOYKIN, N. P.”

Upon examination of this paper, I declined to issue my warrant for the arrest of the alleged fugitive, because, in my judgment, no authority so to do was conferred upon me by law, in a case resting upon such a basis.

It is a high prerogative of official power in any case, to seize a citizen of the State and send him upon an *ex parte* statement, and without any preliminary examination, and without confronting him with a single witness, to a distant State for trial. It is a prerogative so high that the law tolerates its exercise only on certain fixed conditions, and I certainly shall not exercise that power to the peril of any citizen of Iowa, upon the demand of the State of Virginia, or of any other State, unless these conditions are complied with.

The act of Congress provides that besides the Executive demand for the fugitive, there shall be produced “the copy of an indictment found, or an affidavit made before a magistrate of any State or Territory, as aforesaid, charging the person so demanded with having committed treason, felony or other crime, certified as authentic by the Governor,” &c., &c., upon the presentation of which it becomes my duty to cause the arrest to be made. There was not any “copy of an indictment found” presented to me, and of course the case rested upon the affidavit.

I refused the order of arrest in this case for the following reasons:

1st—The affidavit presented was not made before “a magistrate,” but before a Notary Public.

2d—Even had the law recognized an affidavit made before a Notary Public, the affidavit in this case was not authenticated by the Notary’s seal.

3d—The affidavit does not show unless it be inferentially, that Coppoc was in the State of Virginia at the time he “aided and abetted John Brown and others,” as stated therein.

4th—It did not legally “charge him” with commission of “treason, felony or other crime.”

I will consider the first and second reasons in connection. It will not be pretended that a Notary Public, an officer unknown to the common law, and equally unknown to the administration of justice, and never charged directly or indirectly with any step from first to last in

the trial of criminal offenses, is "a magistrate within the meaning of the term" as used here or elsewhere. The Governor of Virginia does not so pretend, but seeks to avoid the force of this objection by citing an act of Congress, passed September, 1850. He says: "But the Governor of Iowa has failed to see that by an act of Congress, passed on the 16th day of September, 1850, it is provided that in all cases in which, under the laws of the United States, oaths or affirmations, or acknowledgments may be taken before any Justice of the Peace of any State or Territory, such oaths, affirmations or acknowledgments may hereafter be also taken or made by or before any Notary Public duly appointed in any State or Territory." "This act," he adds, "completely overthrows the reasons assigned by the Governor of Iowa, and makes the case so plain that argument and illustration can add nothing to it." It is true, I had not seen this act when I refused the warrant for Coppoc's arrest; but if I had seen it, my action would have been the same. In answer to my objection that the seal of the Notary was not attached to the affidavit, he says: "The Notary before whom the affidavit was made, was duly appointed in pursuance of the laws of this Commonwealth, (Virginia) *and his signature was accompanied by a scroll*, in precise conformity with established usage and the decisions of our courts, which recognize scrolls as seals."

If the Governor of Virginia has not "failed to see" the "act of Congress, passed September 16, 1850, he has certainly failed to read it. To suppose that he had read it would be to suppose that he had quoted just so much of said law as tended to support the position he had taken, and suppressed so much of it as showed that position to be untenable—a supposition which my sense of "comity" forbids my entertaining for a moment. I supply that portion of the law which he has, doubtless through inadvertence, omitted. The last words quoted by him, the words "State or Territory," are in the law as printed, followed by a comma, and then in immediate connection follow these words: "*and when certified under the hand and official seal* of such Notary, shall have the same force and effect, as if taken and made by or before such justice or justices of the peace. [See 9th U. S. Statutes at large, page 458] From this it appears by express provision of the law of Congress, an affidavit made before a Notary Public, shall have "force and effect" *only* when "*certified under his hand and official seal.*" Now, the affidavit made in this case before a Notary Public, is *not* certified under his hand and official seal, and I regret to be compelled to add that the statement of Governor Letcher, that the signature of the Notary to the affidavit "was accompanied by a scroll" is wholly unfounded in fact. So far is this from being correct, that to this document received from him and still in my possession, there is neither seal, nor scroll, nor mark, nor device whatever. "Comity" requires that I shall express my belief that in so radical an error of fact, the

Governor of Virginia was misled by the information of others, or by a defective memory, rather than by a desire to support his argument by a misrepresentation.

To recapitulate upon these points: The law of 1793 provides that when in this class of cases, an affidavit is used, such affidavit must be made "before a magistrate." The Governor of Virginia does not pretend that a Notary Public is "a magistrate" within the meaning of that law, but claims that by the law of 1850, the law of 1793 was so modified as to permit the use of affidavits made before Notaries Public. But the same law of 1850 which modifies the law of 1793, expressly and in terms provides that such affidavits, made before a Notary Public, "shall have force and effect" only when "*certified under his hand and official seal,*" and the affidavit in this case was *not* so certified. Not being so certified, it did not have "force and effect," and not having "force and effect" no warrant could issue upon it. It will be observed that the official seal of the Notary is expressly required by the act of Congress, and being so required, I could not waive it if I would. It appears to me that upon these points "the case is so plain that arguments and illustration can add nothing to it."

I leave this part of the discussion here, waiving the question whether the law of 1850, so general in its terms, can be construed as repealing or amending the specific requisites of the special act providing in all respects the mode by which fugitives from justice are to be surrendered to another sovereignty for trial. I am advised that this construction would not be admitted by the courts, and is altogether untenable and is without precedent in this State.

My third and fourth reasons, (which I shall also consider in connection) are that the affidavits did not show otherwise than by inference that Coppoc was in Virginia at the time he "aided and abetted" John Brown and others, as stated; and did not legally charge him with crime. What is the substance of the affidavit? Stripped of all verbiage, it is this and this only: Andrew Hunter swears "that John Brown and others on certain days and at a certain place in the State of Virginia, committed certain crimes," and "that from information received from several persons" recently condemned and executed in Virginia, and "from other facts that have come to his knowledge," he "*verily believes*" that Barclay Coppoc, "aided and abetted" said John Brown and others in the commission of said crimes, and that from other information more recently received, he "*verily believes* said Barclay Coppoc is a fugitive from justice now escaping in the State of Iowa."

Now what is the law? I quote a note from Brightly's Digest of the laws of the United States, page 293: "The affidavit, when that form of evidence is adopted, must be at least so explicit and certain that if it were laid before a magistrate it would justify him in committing the

accused to answer the charge: 6 *Penn. Law Jour.* 414, 418. It must state *positively* that the alleged crime was committed in the State from which the party is alleged to be a fugitive, and that the party is actually a fugitive from that State. "*Exparte Smith*, 3 *McLean* 121, 122, *Fetters case* 3 *Zabr.* 311. In the matter of *Hayward*, 1 *Sandf. S. C.*, 701; *Degant vs. Michael*, 2 *Carter*, 396. I quote further from 3 *McLean* 135: "Again the affidavit charges the shooting on the 6th of May in the County of Jackson State of Missouri, that he believes and has good reason to believe from evidence and information now (then) in his possession, that Joseph Smith was accessory before the fact, and is a resident or citizen of Illinois." The Court go on to say: "There are several objections to this. Mr. Boggs, [the affiant in that case] having the evidence and information in his possession, should have incorporated it in the affidavit, to enable the Court to judge of their sufficiency to support his belief. Again he swears to a legal conclusion, when he says Smith was an accessory before the fact. What constitutes a man an accessory is a question of law, and not always easy of solution. Mr. Boggs' opinion then is not authority. He should have given the facts. He should have shown that they were committed in Missouri, to enable the Court to test them by the laws of Missouri, to see if they amounted to a crime. Again, the affidavit is fatally defective in this, that Boggs swears to his belief."

Let us apply these rules to the affidavit under consideration. Andrew Hunter does not swear *positively* that Coppoc was ever in Virginia. He says certain persons other than Coppoc committed certain crimes at certain places in that State, and that Coppoc "aided and abetted" them, leaving to be inferred that he was with them in Virginia; but he might have furnished arms from Ohio, or ammunition from Pennsylvania, or aid and comfort from Maryland; thus "aiding and abetting" the crime committed in Virginia, without being there in person, and yet not liable to be tried in Virginia for so doing. Mr. Hunter says Coppoc is "a fugitive from justice escaping in the State of Iowa." From what State? From Virginia, or Maryland, or Pennsylvania, or Ohio? It may be *inferred* the escape was from Virginia, but it is not "positively" so stated, nor is there on either point that "certainty that would justify a magistrate in committing an accused party." Again, Mr. Hunter "having the evidence and information in his possession, should have incorporated it in the affidavit." He swears to a legal conclusion when he says "Coppoc aided and abetted." What constitutes *aiding and abetting* "is a question of law and not always of easy solution." Mr. Hunter's "opinion is not authority. He should have sworn to the facts." "The affidavit is fatally defective in this that Hunter swears to his belief." The whole case is this: A paper was presented to me purporting to be an affidavit made under a law of Congress, but not made before an officer recognized by that

law, or if the law of 1850 applies to this class of cases, lacking to its authenticity an essential requisite prescribed by that law. That paper was made the basis of a demand that I should arrest and surrender for trial for crime in a distant State, a citizen of this State, while it contained only the statement of a person wholly unknown to me *that he believed* the citizen was guilty of a crime; which crime, if committed at all, might, for aught appearing in the paper, have been committed in any other State as well as Virginia. I refused the demand made upon me; and now, after a more full and careful consideration of the matter than I then gave it, I am content with the decision then made.

My action in this matter is not without precedent in our own State. My immediate predecessor refused a warrant for a citizen of this State, upon a requisition from the State of Indiana, upon the ground that the affidavit upon which the requisition was based, although sufficient in substance, was made before a notary public. The Governor of Indiana did not, as I am advised, consider this refusal as evidence that the people or authorities of Iowa were unwilling to perform their constitutional obligations, or a matter of sufficient importance to be the subject of a special message to the General Assembly of that State.

The Governor of Virginia complains that I did not cause Coppoc to be arrested and held until another requisition in proper form could have been sent to me. The law of the State provides the manner in which such provisional arrest shall be made (Code, Sec. 3284, and the remaining sections of that chapter). I called the attention of the agent of Virginia specially to this law, read it to him and placed it in his hands, and requested him to advise with counsel in relation thereto and act upon that advice. For some reason, doubtless satisfactory to himself, but wholly unknown to me, he did not, so far as I have learned, act under the provisions of that law. If the Governor of Virginia has cause for complaint against any person on this point, it is against his own agent, and not against me.

The Governor of Virginia also complains that the first of my letters to him was published in the papers of this State before it had reached him. This is probably true. During the afternoon of the day on which the requisition was presented to me, and after that fact had become public, many inquiries were made of me touching the matter, and great desire expressed to know my reasons for refusing the warrant. It would have been useless and absurd in me to have affected secrecy in regard to the matter when the agent of Virginia had himself made it public; and I answered inquiries by stating the facts, and for my reasons referred to my letter, a copy of which I had kept. Some of the gentlemen who read the letter suggested that, as the matter would probably excite some public interest, it would be well to publish the letter, and not being able to see how, under the circumstances, any possible injury could result from its publication, I allowed

copies to be taken for that purpose. It is to me a matter of profound regret that the Governor of Virginia did not, in his special message, content himself with an examination of the legality of the documents sent by him to me, and of my official action thereon, without attempting to convert a question of official power and duty into a question of personal motives. Not satisfying himself, apparently, that he had a good cause of complaint against me upon the law or the facts of the case, he repeats some hearsay, some suspicions of his own or his agents, some broken extracts from my inaugural address, and from all these, attempts to justify his insinuations of my sympathy with the crimes lately committed in Virginia, and of my desire, perhaps efforts, for the escape of this alleged fugitive. I repel all such suggestions, coming from him or from others, with the scorn they deserve; and I would not dignify them by any notice were it not for this consideration. Right-minded men in other States may well suppose that the Chief Magistrate of Virginia could not make charges so grossly violative of the courtesy due by him to the Chief Magistrate of a sister State, unless he knew the charges to be sustained by the facts, and might construe my silence into an admission of their truth.

The fact that an agent of Virginia was here with a requisition for Coppoc became publicly known in this place solely through the acts of that agent himself. I denied myself what I greatly desired, the privilege of consultation with gentlemen, in whose opinions I had confidence, touching the legality of the papers submitted to me, lest the matter might thereby, through inadvertance, become known. After I had communicated to him my determination not to grant the warrant demanded, he sat in my office conversing freely with me on the subject. During our conversation, other persons came in on business with me, and, to my surprise, he continued the conversation in their presence. I said to him that I had supposed he did not wish his business to be made public; to which he replied that, as the warrant had been refused, he did not care who knew his business, and continued the conversation. In this manner the fact that a requisition had been made for Coppoc became known in this place; and I am credibly informed that it was well known in Iowa City to many persons there, that the agent of Virginia was on his way to this place with such requisition before he reached here.

The insinuation that I had anything to do, directly or indirectly, with sending information to Coppoc that a requisition had been made for him, is simply and unqualifiedly untrue; nor have I any means of knowing whether such information was sent by others, or, if so, by whom sent, other than that common to all persons then at the Capital—common rumor.

Were I disposed to follow the course pursued by the Governor of Virginia, I might, perhaps, find in this matter sufficient to justify the

conclusion, that he has been throughout more anxious to lay a foundation for complaint against Iowa, for the purpose of inflaming sectional prejudice, than to procure the return of Coppoc to Virginia. The facts that the papers transmitted are so grossly defective; that the agent sent with them was so careless to keep secret his mission; that when his demand for a warrant was refused on the ground that his papers were insufficient, he failed to make use of the law pointed out to him for the provisional arrest of the alleged fugitive until new papers could be procured; and that the Governor of Virginia, without answering my letters or asking any explanations, has seen fit to promulgate his extraordinary special message, might justify that conclusion to those who are astute to discover, and deem it consistent with fair dealing to impute bad motives for all acts done by others; and the same process of reasoning might lead me to conclude that his declarations of attachment to the Union are but a cover to conceal, on his part, the design openly proclaimed by many with whom he fraternizes, politically, to destroy that Union if they cannot control it.

The people of Iowa need no defense at my hands. They love the Union and are determined it shall be preserved. Their fealty to it is not determined by the fact whether or not they control its policy and enjoy its honor and emoluments, and although they may believe at times that that policy is controlled for improper purposes, and those honors and emoluments placed in unworthy hands, they will still quietly wait until a change shall be made in a legitimate and constitutional way, and when that time shall have come they will see to it that the Union shall still be preserved.

Permit me to say, in conclusion, that, in my judgment, one of the most important duties of the official position I hold is to see that no citizen of Iowa is carried beyond her border, and subjected to the ignominy of imprisonment and the perils of trial for crimes in another State, otherwise than by due process of law. That duty I shall perform. Whenever the Governor of Virginia, or of any other State, shall transmit to me papers, properly executed and containing proper proof, demanding the surrender of any one of our people, I shall promptly issue a warrant for his rendition—and not till then.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

A.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA, TO THE EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY OF THE STATE OF IOWA:

Whereas it appears by the annexed document, which is hereby certified as authentic, that Barclay Coppoc is a fugitive from justice from this State, charged with the crime of treason, conspiring with and advising slaves to rebel and make insurrection, and with murder perpetrated at the town of Harper's Ferry, in this Commonwealth, on

the sixteenth and seventeenth days of October, in the year 1859: Now therefore I, John Letcher, Governor of the State of Virginia, have thought proper, by virtue of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, in such cases made and provided, and of the laws of Congress in pursuance thereof, to demand of the Executive authority of Iowa, the arrest and surrender of Barclay Coppoc, and that he be delivered to C. Camp, who is hereby appointed the agent to receive him on the part of this Commonwealth.

Given under my hand as Governor, and under the Great
 { L. S. Seal of the State, at Richmond, this 10th day of January,
 { 1860, and in the eighty-fourth year of the Commonwealth.

JOHN LETCHER.

B.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, IOWA, }
 Des Moines, January 23, 1860. }

To His Excellency, the Governor of Virginia:

SIR:—Your requisition for Barclay Coppoc, alleged to be a fugitive from justice from the State of Virginia, was this day placed in my hands by Mr. Camp. Having carefully considered the same, I am of opinion that I cannot, in the proper discharge of my duty as Executive of this State, grant the requisition, because it does not, in my opinion, come within the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, and of the laws of Congress, passed in pursuance thereof. The certificate of the Notary Public, that the paper purporting to be the affidavit of Andrew Hunter, was sworn to, is not authenticated by his Notarial Seal, and for that reason, is no higher evidence of that fact, than would be the statement of any other citizen. Were this the only difficulty, I would, as it is in its nature technical, feel disposed to waive it in this case; but there is a further defect, which in my judgment is fatal, and which my duty will not allow me to overlook.

The law provides that the Executive authority of a State demanding any person as a fugitive from justice, shall produce to the Executive authority of the State on which the demand is made "the copy of an indictment found, or an affidavit made before a magistrate" of the State by which the demand is made. In this case, there is not a copy of any indictment produced, and the affidavit produced, is made before a Notary Public, who is not, in my judgment, a magistrate, within the meaning of the law of Congress.

This is a matter in which, as I understand, I have no discretionary power. Had the application been made to me in proper form, charging the offense charged in this case, the requisition must have been granted; and as it is, I have not any more authority to surrender the person demanded, than if requested to do so by a private letter.

Very respectfully, SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

C.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA, }
Des Moines, January 24, 1860. }

To His Excellency, the Governor of Virginia:

On yesterday, Mr. Camp, of your State, presented to me a requisition for Barclay Coppoc, which I declined to grant, for reasons stated in a letter to you, which I handed to him, (Mr. Camp).

I have since examined more carefully the body of the affidavit of Andrew Hunter, and beg leave to call your attention to it. Mr. Hunter states that from information received by him from certain persons condemned and executed in your State and from other facts which have come to his knowledge, he believes that Coppoc was aiding and abetting John Brown and others, who on certain days, in Virginia, committed certain crimes, and that from information recently received, he verily believes Coppoc is a fugitive from justice, escaping in this State. It is not stated, unless it be inferentially, that Coppoc committed the acts charged, in the State of Virginia, nor are any of the facts upon which affiant bases his belief of Coppoc's guilt stated.

It seems to me very desirable that in case you shall deem it your duty again to demand Coppoc from the Executive authority of this State, that no question may arise upon the sufficiency of the papers upon which the demand shall be made, and I have therefore deemed it proper to make to you the above suggestions.

Very respectfully,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

A VETO MESSAGE—MUST HAVE GOOD MONEY.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, }
March 30, 1860. }

Gentlemen of the Senate:—I herewith return to your house, in which it originated, without my approval, "An act to amend an act entitled, an act authorizing general banking in the State of Iowa," passed by the Seventh General Assembly.

Should the proposed act become a law, it would change the existing law in these particulars: First, by permitting banks to be organized thereunder, with a paid-up capital of \$25,000 instead of \$50,000 as now provided. Second, by abolishing the office of Bank Commissioners as provided by the original law, and dispensing with the supervision and control by these commissioners of the banks that might be established; and, third, by permitting the establishment of banks in towns with a population of two hundred and fifty inhabitants instead of five hundred as required by the original law.

It seems very clear to me that the second and third of these changes would be very injurious to our people by bringing into disre-

pute our entire banking system and inflicting upon us an irredeemable paper currency.

The Bank Commissioners (whose duties it is proposed to dispense with) are now required to make semi-annually, and as much oftener as they may deem advisable, thorough and searching examinations of each bank for the purpose of ascertaining if the law has been complied with, and the public are safe in receiving the bills in circulation; and, in case they find the law has not been complied with, and that the public are not safe, they are empowered to take proper steps to secure the public safety. These commissioners cannot be either directly or indirectly engaged in banking under the law, and must be sworn to a faithful and impartial discharge of their duties. I am well satisfied that the provisions of the law providing for the appointment of these commissioners, and defining their powers and duties, are wise and salutary, and that the performance of these duties is essential to the protection of the people, and I cannot approve an act which proposes to leave our people without that protection which is so essential to their safety.

The provisions of the original law prohibiting the establishment of a bank in any city or town with a population less than five hundred are also, in my judgment, eminently wise and proper.

The object of the law was to prevent the establishment of banks at points remote and inaccessible to those who might wish to present their bills for redemption; in other words, to prevent the flooding of our State with a paper currency practically irredeemable, and at the same time to prevent the establishment of banks of issue at points where they could not do a legitimate business, and must, therefore, be necessarily unsafe. Banks of issue can be tolerated only when their bills are at all times convertible into specie, and any laws which practically prevent such convenience are unwise and injurious. The States of Wisconsin and Illinois have now a paper currency practically irredeemable, and our people, as well as the people of those States, are annually suffering a heavy loss in consequence. It does not appear to me to be wise and prudent to increase the evil by adding to the currency now in circulation largely among us an additional amount of like character issued in our own State.

It may be urged that the General Assembly and Executive of the State are not required to examine banking laws with the same care and caution as others, because banking laws, after having been passed by the General Assembly and approved by the Governor, do not take effect unless approved by the people. I cannot concur in this opinion. In my judgment, the constitutional requirement that laws of this character should be approved by the people before going into effect, was not designed as a license to the General Assembly and Governor to shirk their duties and responsibilities, and pass and approve such

laws without examination and deliberation, because the people were to pass finally upon them, but was intended to provide an additional ordeal through which such laws should pass after the General Assembly and Governor had done their whole duty as in other cases.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

By this timely veto we were saved from the calamities that would have followed the establishment in our State of a system of "Wild Cat" banking that had from beyond our eastern and western borders cursed us for years.

Writing to Suel Foster, one of the trustees of and the father of the Agricultural College in the early days of that institution, in regard to the economical expenditure of funds for it, the Governor says:

"For one, I will not consent to have standing on the farm a pile of unfinished buildings as a monument of my folly and business capacity."

It was the "economy" and "business capacity" of the Governor and friends of the college during its infancy that contributed to make it the noble institution it is to-day.

The Presidential election of this year was a very exciting one. With four tickets in the field, and with Mr. Lincoln, personally the strongest man on either, as the standard-bearer of the Republican party, it looked from the start as though he would have a "walk over" in the Presidential race; and such it proved to be, yet there never had such an array of able speakers been engaged in the field as then. Mr. Douglass took the stump and canvassed nearly the whole country, and Mr. Breckenridge advocated his cause in his own State.

The defection by Mr. Seward's friends that was counted on in New York and by those of Mr. Bates in Missouri did not materialize, and Mr. Lincoln had no more ardent and active supporters than were his competitors in the Chicago Convention. The canvass was one of principle alone. All personalities were kept in the background. Never in any political campaign did our people get such excellent lessons, or so much good instruction on the subject of civil liberty,

the true functions of our government, the relation of the General government to the States, of the States to each other, and especially to the Territories, or from such able teachers as they got that year from speakers on the stump, and never did our people give so much thought and attention to questions presented by public speakers as they did then.

There were at this time but two congressional districts in the State. Wm. Vandever and Ben M. Samuels were opposing candidates in the northern, and Samuel R. Curtis and C. C. Cole in the southern district, all first-class speakers, and they spent two whole months on the stump, speaking nearly every day. C. C. Nourse, one of the best of our platform speakers, candidate for Attorney General, made a thorough canvass of the State, and the candidates for electors filled numerous appointments; that silver-tongued orator, the gallant Henry O'Connor, threw himself into the work with his whole soul. "Wide Awake" clubs were formed, and local speakers put to work all over the State. Gov. Kirkwood was put into the harness as one of the wheel horses, and his voice and pen were neither of them silent. He used the latter with telling effect in reply to LeGrand Byington, a Democratic politician of more than a local reputation, and an assistant elector on his own ticket, who challenged him to a joint debate. Mr. Byington had business to attend to in several counties where he proposed to speak, and made it a condition that between each debate, while he spent forty-eight hours in attending to business, Gov. Kirkwood was to sit around on store boxes or something not much better, and spend the time in idleness before another debate should take place, but the letter tells its own story:

IOWA CITY, Sept. 3, 1860.

LeGrand Byington, Esq.,

SIR:—In your letter to me in the *State Press* of 29th of August, you make a speech and give me a challenge. Courtesy requires that I should reply to both. Of the Whig Party I have only this to say. It

is not a living organization. The time has not come to write its history, nor is either of us its proper historian. Its name and the names of the statesmen and soldiers it has given in our country will be cherished in our State, when your name and mine will be forgotten. The Republican party is a living organization, you either misunderstand or misrepresent its purposes and its history. It is not "thoroughly abolitionized," unless "abolitionism" consists in *an earnest and determined, but peaceable and constitutional opposition to the extension of slavery into free territory*. Its convention was a National and not a sectional one. True all the States were not represented in that convention, not because any were excluded by the call, but because some did not choose to send delegates, but more States were represented by full delegations than in either of the remnants of the convention at Baltimore that nominated Mr. Douglass and Mr. Breckenridge.

Its candidate, Mr. Lincoln, is *not* nor has ever been an "abolitionist," unless the term is to be understood as above stated, nor did he exhibit "factious hostility in Congress" to the Mexican war. I may not properly understand what you mean by the assertion that Mr. Lincoln "acknowledged his obligation" to the "higher law," but if you mean that if he shall find himself commanded by the law of man to do or not to do an act under penalty, the doing or not doing of which is expressly prohibited to or enjoined on him by the law of God, he will in such case "obey God rather than man," you define his position truly.

You say in substance that you and I acted together politically in 1848, as members of the then Democratic party, and that now while you are a member of the same Democratic party, I am a member of the Republican party. You err somewhat in this. You are a member of but a *faction* of the Democratic party, and the members of the other faction of the same party, apply to you and your associates the term "abolitionist," as flippantly, as unctuously and as justly as you apply it to the Republicans. You are a Douglassite and not a Democrat.

Why I am not one or the other I will state briefly. I believe the men who made the Constitution, and the men who received it from their hands and put it in motion, understood the meaning of that instrument better than Mr. Pierce, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Douglass and Mr. Breckenridge. I know that those men and the men who for many years followed them in the control of our National Government believed and acted upon the belief that Congress had power to prohibit slavery in the Territories, and therefore I cannot accept the teachings of the new men of the Democratic Party, who deny Congress that power. The Breckenridge faction directly favor the introduction of slavery into all the Territories, while the best that can be said for the Douglass faction is, that it "don't care" whether slavery be so introduced or not. In my judgment neither faction occupies the ground held by the Democratic party in 1848, nor does either faction occupy the right

ground, and therefore I cannot act with either, but I can and do cordially sympathize with the Republican party, which while earnestly deprecating and opposing the extension of slavery into free Territory, seeks to use no means to that end not sanctioned by the fathers of the Constitution and the Union. So much for your speech, now for your challenge.

I very much regret that I cannot accept it. My entire time for the next two weeks is already engaged. I have also accepted several invitations to attend Republican mass meetings after that time, at points quite distant from each other, and with several days between their dates. Besides I do not desire to confine myself wholly to counties south of the M. & M. (now the Rock Island) Railroad, nor would I be willing to waste so much time as would result from allowing "an interval of at least forty-eight hours between the different meetings out of Keokuk county." For these reasons I must respectfully decline your challenge. Very respectfully, SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

Such a reputation as a platform speaker had the Governor made in his canvass with Mr. Dodge, the previous year, that he was flooded with invitations from all parts of the State to address large public meetings, several counties often uniting to get up monster demonstrations, and some of them were so large that two and three different stands were erected and occupied by different speakers at the same time.

From his old home in Ohio came this invitation:

MANSFIELD, Ohio, Sept. 12, 1860.

Hon. Samuel J. Kirkwood:

DEAR SIR—Our County Central Committee have appointed Friday, the 5th day of October, for a mass meeting of the Republicans of this and adjoining counties, designed to be *the* gathering of the campaign for "all this region." We are instructed to invite you to be present with us on that day to address the people with whom you are held now more than ever in grateful remembrance for distinguished services as the leader of the opposition in this county to Mr. Douglass' first labored effort for the Presidential chair.

Will you not be with us? We shall confidently expect you.

Please reply at your earliest convenience, and oblige,

Your friends,

Z. S. STOCKING,

I. H. FORD,

R. BRINKERHOFF,

G. GASS,

Committee.

Since the establishment of our Government, with the exception of the Presidential election when Mr. Jefferson was elected over Mr. Adams, no one election was more hotly contested, nor did any one attract more attention or call forth more effort than the one of 1860. The result with reference to the four candidates was peculiar. The popular vote was as follows: Lincoln, 1,857,610; Douglass, 1,365,976; Breckenridge, 847,953; Bell, 590,631. Of votes in the electoral college Lincoln had 180; Douglass, 12; Breckenridge, 72; Bell, 39.

It seems very singular that under our form of government Messrs. Breckenridge and Bell should get more than nine times as many *electoral* votes, while they got but few more *popular* votes, than Mr. Douglass, and that Mr. Bell should get more than three times as many *electoral* votes as Mr. Douglass, while Mr. Douglass had more than twice as many *popular* votes. But such was the case, and that under a legal count.

Soon after election Governor Kirkwood wrote Mr. Lincoln:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, Iowa, Nov. 15, 1860.

Hon. Abraham Lincoln, President-Elect of the United States :

DEAR SIR—Permit me to congratulate you, and I most heartily do, upon the result of the recent Presidential election, and to express the earnest hope that your administration may prove as useful to our country and as honorable to yourself as you yourself can desire.

Very respectfully,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

The result of the election created a great deal of dissatisfaction at the South, and mutterings of discontent and threats not to abide by it were quite frequent, and the threats were growing bolder every day, and they created a feverish feeling in the public mind at the North.

Under this state of feeling Governor Kirkwood determined to visit the President-elect at his home in Springfield, Ill.; and learn, from a personal interview, "what manner of

man he was," and whether he could be depended upon to meet the difficulties in store for him and the Union-loving people of the country.

The account of that interview is given in the Governor's own words in an article written by himself and published in the *Iowa Historical Record* :

Editor Iowa Historical Record :—In compliance with your request, I submit an account of my first meeting with Abraham Lincoln. His nomination by the Republicans, in 1860, as the candidate for the Presidency was very favorably received by the great body of the party, although there was some disappointment felt in some of the Eastern States, particularly by the friends of Mr. Seward, and to a less extent by the friends of Mr. Chase. But in the West, especially by that portion of our people whom Mr. Lincoln so aptly afterwards called "the plain people," the feeling of his party friends in his favor was earnest and enthusiastic. His great debate with Mr. Douglass in 1858, and his Cooper Institute speech in 1860, had convinced everybody of his great ability, his thorough understanding of the great questions involved in the pending contest, his conservative views on those questions, his sterling honesty, his candor and his courage. In short, it was thoroughly believed that although he was not, as the term was then understood, a politician—that he was a statesman in the better sense of the term.

After his election two elements of opposition to his administration rapidly developed. Firstly, the secession element, composed of those who had, ever since the days of Nullification, determined upon the dissolution of the Union; and, secondly, of those who earnestly sought to force Mr. Lincoln and his friends, through fear, into some compromise which would give to slavery all it contended for.

I had never met Mr. Lincoln, nor did I expect to attend his inauguration. But, as time passed on, I thought it due to him and to the official position I then held in my State to pay my respects to him before he left his home for Washington. I was further led to do this by the increasing excitement and alarm in the country growing out of the increasing boldness and power of the secession movement in the South, and the increasing efforts of those North and South who clamored for "peace at any price;" and it is but candid to say that I desired to form for myself, from a personal interview with Mr. Lincoln, a more satisfactory opinion than I otherwise could of his "equipment" to meet the unexpected and terrible responsibilities that he would probably have to meet.

Accordingly, early in January, 1861, I went to Springfield, Ill. I did not expect that I should meet any one there whom I knew, un-

less it might be Mr. Hatch, who was then the Secretary of State of Illinois, whom I had met at Chicago at the Republican National Convention in 1860, and with whom I had there formed a slight acquaintance. I did meet him, either on the evening of my arrival at Springfield or the next morning. He introduced me to Governor Yates. I told them in general terms the object of my visit, and that I was embarrassed to know when and where I could have an interview with Mr. Lincoln. They told me that he had a room, or rooms, in the city, at which he attended every day between certain hours, but that his time, on such occasions, was so occupied by his many callers that there was neither time nor opportunity for such an interview as they understood I wanted, and they proposed that at an hour they named they would accompany me to his residence and introduce me to him, and I could have my interview there. I hesitated somewhat about going to his residence, as he might perhaps consider it an intrusion, but they insisted he would not so consider it, and as I was anxious to accomplish my purpose and to return home as soon as possible, I consented to go with them. We started at the time appointed and on our way we saw at some distance before us a tall man of somewhat remarkable appearance. Before we met, either Governor Yates or Secretary Hatch said, "There is Lincoln now." As we met they shook hands and I was introduced to Mr. Lincoln, and after a short conversation I told him in general terms the purpose of my visit, and that, at the suggestion of the Governor and Secretary, we were on our way to visit him at his residence, as they had informed me there would not be a very favorable opportunity for a private conversation with him at his rooms up town. He replied in substance that was all right; that he was going up town on an errand, and that the gentlemen with me and myself should go on to his home and he would soon return. As we were about to separate he said to me that if it would suit me as well, he would call on me at my room in the hotel at which I was stopping, and that we would be less liable to interruption there than at his house. I was not then (nor am I now) much acquainted with the etiquette of calls upon or by Presidents or Presidents-elect, and I have since thought that he did not know much more on that somewhat intricate subject than I did or care any more about it. I gladly assented to his suggestion and we separated, I going to my room at the hotel. Within an hour Mr. Lincoln came to my room and we had a long and what was to me a very interesting conversation. I cannot, of course, undertake to give his language or my own. I told him in substance that our Iowa people were very much excited over the condition of the country North and South—that they were devotedly attached to the union of the States, and would never consent to its dissolution on any terms; that they were not to be frightened into abandoning their principles by bluster and bravado, and that he might depend upon

them to sustain him to the utmost of their power in preserving the peace, if that could be fairly done, and in preserving the Union in any event and at whatever cost.

Mr. Lincoln listened with great attention and apparent interest and expressed great satisfaction at what I had said touching the intention of the people of Iowa to give their earnest support to his administration. He proceeded to say that he still had strong hope that a peaceful and safe solution might yet be had of our present troubles—that it seemed to him incredible that any large portion of our people, even in the States threatening secession, could really desire a dissolution of the Union that had done them nothing but good; that his own opinion that Congress had not the power to abolish slavery in the States where it existed was well known before his nomination; that the convention by which he was nominated, with full knowledge of that opinion, had nominated him, and that with full knowledge of both these facts he had been constitutionally elected; that he would not consent to or advise his friends to consent to any bargain or so-called compromise that amounted to a purchase of the constitutional rights growing out of the late election, because the so doing would be an invitation to the defeated party, or parties, in future elections to pursue the course now being pursued with the hope of achieving like success by like means, thus reducing our Government to the level of Mexico, which was then in a constant state of revolution; that he would bear and forbear much to preserve peace and the integrity of the Union, but if the issue was clearly made between war and a dissolution of the Union, then, however much he might regret the necessity, he would use all the constitutional powers of the Government for its preservation, relying on God's justice and the patriotism of the people for success.

It is now about thirty years since I had this interview with Mr. Lincoln, and my life for several years after was a busy one. I, therefore, do not claim to give his words—only his ideas—nor do I claim that what was said consisted as herein stated of a continued opening statement by me and a continued reply by him; on the contrary, the interview was, to some extent, conversational, although much the greater part of what was said was said by him. He spoke calmly, earnestly and with great feeling. I listened with anxious interest and heard with profound satisfaction.

When he left I went with him to the door of the hotel, and when I returned to the office I found myself an object of considerable attention. It was known that Mr. Lincoln was up stairs with somebody, and when it appeared that I was that body, a good many people about the hotel seemed anxious to learn who I was and where I had come from.

I left for home with a strong conviction, which never left me, that

he was the right man in the right place, and the longer he lived the stronger that conviction grew.

S. J. KIRKWOOD.

Iowa City, January 14, 1891.

Five states, South Carolina, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and Arkansas, seceded before the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, not waiting to see what his policy would be. They seemed to have a foreknowledge that their favorite institution was doomed; for they remembered that Mr. Lincoln had prophesied that this country must eventually become all free or all slave territory, and they very well knew that slavery was an institution that never could cross Mason and Dixon's line.

Gov. Kirkwood went to Washington and was present at Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, and with some Ohio friends assisted in getting Mr. Chase into the cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury, a most fortunate appointment for both the Administration and the country.

The nervousness of the country during the early months of the year 1861 in regard to the unsettled state of affairs, is indicated by the letter of Gov. Kirkwood to Senator Grimes, and by captains of various military companies in the State tendering to the President and the Governor their services.

DES MOINES, IA., January 12, 1861.

Hon. James W. Grimes:

DEAR SIR:—It really appears to me as though our Southern friends are determined on the destruction of our Government, unless they can change its whole basis and make it a government for the growth and spread of slavery. The real point of controversy is in regard to slavery in the territories. On that point I would be willing to go thus far: Restore the question of slavery in our present territories to the position in which it was placed by the compromise measures of 1850, and before passing the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and admit Kansas as a free state at once. The whole country agreed to do this once, and therefore could do so again. As to future acquisitions of territory, do either one of two things: 1st, Prohibit future acquisitions except by the vote of two thirds of each branch of Congress, or: 2nd,

Make the condition of the Territory at the time of its acquisition its permanent condition until admitted as a state.

I think neither of these requires an abandonment of principles, or involves disgrace to either party, North or South.

But at all hazards the Union must be honored; the laws must be enforced. What can I do in the premises? Shall I tender the aid of the State to Mr. Buchanan? Some of our people desire an extra session—I do not. My present intention is not to call an extra session till after the 4th of March. If after that time an extra session be necessary to support the Government, I will so far as in me lies see to it that the last fighting man in the State, and the last dollar in the treasury are devoted to that object, and our people will sustain me. If such aid is required by Mr. Buchanan, it is at his service. Please consult our delegation and write me fully such course as you think best to be pursued.

Very truly,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

P. S.—Can anything be done in the way of procuring arms for this State beyond the regular quota for the current year? Cannot an arsenal be established and supplied in some North-western free state?
K.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, }
Iowa, Jan. 22, 1861. }

His Excellency, the Governor of the State of Maryland:

SIR:—Permit me to tender you my hearty thanks, and those of the people of Iowa, for the patriotic and manly stand you have taken against disunion and treason.

I am a native of the State of Maryland and I feel a great, and I trust an honest pride in knowing that the good old State stands firmly to the Constitution and the Union in these trying days, when so many are disposed to abandon both. This I am satisfied is in a great measure due to the bold stand you have taken, and when passion shall have subsided, and when reason and love of country shall have assumed the ascendant, your name will stand high on the roll of those whom the people delight to honor.

With sentiments of high regard I remain

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, }
Jan. 28, 1861. }

To Hon. Jas. Harlan, Jas. W. Grimes, Samuel R. Curtis and Wm. Vandever:

GENTLEMEN:—You will find herewith a paper requesting you, if you consider it advisable, to attend a meeting of the commissioners of the different States at Washington City on the 4th of February next. I

wish you to be guided wholly by your own discretion as to your attendance.

I confess the whole thing strikes me unfavorably. The very early day named renders it impossible for the distant States to select and send commissioners, and also it is liable to the construction that it was the intention to force action both upon the meeting and upon Congress before the 4th of March next and without proper time for deliberation. Again the fact that the basis of adjustment proposed in the resolutions is one that all the free States rejected by an overwhelming majority at the presidential election (the votes for Lincoln and Douglass being all against it) indicate that either in expectation that the free States shall stultify and degrade themselves or a purpose by the failure of the commissioners to agree upon terms of adjustment to afford excuse and justification to those who are already determined to leave the Union. You upon the ground can judge of these things more correctly than I can here.

Should you find the meeting disposed to act in earnest for the preservation of the Union without seeking the degradation of any of the States for that end permit me to make a few suggestions.

The true policy for every good citizen to pursue is to set his face like a flint against secession, to call it by its true name—treason—to use his influence in all legitimate ways to put it down; strictly and cordially to obey the laws and to stand by the government in all lawful measures it may adopt for the preservation of the Union, and to trust to the people and the constituted authorities to correct under the present constitution, and errors that may have been committed or any evils or wrongs that have been suffered.

But if compromise must be the order of the day then that compromise should not be a concession by one side of all the other side demands and of all for which the conceding side has been contending. In other words the North must not be expected to yield all the South asks, all the North has contended for and won, and then call that compromise. That is not compromise and would not bring peace. Such "compromise" would not become dry on the parchment on which it would be written before "agitation" for its repeal would have commenced. A compromise that would restore good feeling must not degrade either side. Let me suggest how in my opinion this can be done. Restore the Missouri compromise line to the territory we got from France. We all agreed to that once and can, without degradation do so again.

The repeal of that line brought on our present troubles; its restoration ought to go far to remove them. As to New Mexico and Utah leave them under the laws passed for their government in 1850—the so-called compromise of that year. We all stood there once and can do so again without degradation. This settles the question of slavery

in all our present territories. As to future acquisitions say we can't make any. We thus avoid the slavery question in future. We have enough territory for our expansion for a century and let the men of that day make another to suit themselves. It says merely we prefer our Union as it is to conquest that may endanger it. The fugitive slave law was made by the South. The reason of its non-existence is its severity. It is in direct antagonism to the public sentiment of the people among whom it is to be executed. If something were done to modify it so as to require the alleged fugitive to be taken before the officer of the court of the county from which he has alleged to have fled and there have a trial if he demand it, in my opinion the law would be much more effective than it is.

The personal liberty laws are the acts of the States that have them and I doubt not would be repealed when the present excitement dies away. Iowa never has had nor does she want one.

Very respectfully,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

The following is the "paper" above referred to:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA, }
Jan. 28, 1861. }

Hon. James W. Grimes, James Harlan, Samuel R. Curtis and Wm. Vandever:

GENTLEMEN:—I received in the evening of the 21st inst. by mail a copy of a preamble and resolutions passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia on the 19th inst. inviting the other States of the Union to send commissioners to Washington City to meet there on the 4th of February next, commissioners appointed by the State of Virginia to consult upon the present unfortunate condition of public affairs. I did not receive a copy of said preamble and resolutions by telegraph as is contemplated thereby.

It is impossible for me now to select persons in different parts of this State and inform them of their appointment in time for them to reach Washington City and participate in the convention at the time named.

Under these circumstances I have determined to request you to attend said meeting on the part of this State if you shall think it advisable so to do in view of your official position, of the attendance of commissioners from other States and of all the surrounding circumstances.

Should you deem it advisable and proper so to attend these will be your credentials.

Very respectfully,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

South Carolina seceded on the 20th of December, 1860. Louisiana followed on the 23d, and Georgia and Alabama went out in January following, and public affairs were assuming an alarming aspect and the dark clouds of war were gathering in the political horizon, and though no call for troops had been made by either the President or the Governor, and no military preparations had been made to put down secession, Capt. F. J. Herron, of the "Governor's Greys" at Dubuque, Capt. R. R. Cowles, of the "Washington Light Guards," Capt. J. L. Matthies, of the "Burlington Rifles" and the captain of the "Mt. Pleasant Greys," all tendered the services of their companies to the Governor, all of which were accepted, and the Governor wrote Capt. Cowles as follows, and to the other captains in the same strain:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, }
Iowa, Jan. 17, 1861. }

R. R. Cowles, Captain Washington Light Guards, Washington, Iowa:

SIR:—In these days when cabinet officers abet treason, and use their official positions to bankrupt and disarm the government they are sworn to support, when members of both branches of our national councils are openly engaged in endeavoring to overthrow the government of which they are the sworn servants, and retain places and prostitute their powers to thwart the efforts of those who loyally seek to maintain that government—when in one portion of our country many men delirious with passion, regard the firing upon our National flag, the forcible seizure of our National forts, and the plunder of our National arsenals and treasuries as manly, honorable and patriotic service—when in another portion of our country a few men blinded by partisan prejudice can be found who justify these acts, and say the perpetrators of them must not be punished—when, in short, men are found in high places so lost to patriotism as to emulate the treason of Benedict Arnold, and so lost to shame as to glory in their infamy, and can find followers and apologists—it is gratifying to know that the gallant yeomanry of Iowa are still determined "to march under the flag and to keep step to the music of the Union."

I accept with pleasure the services of the "Washington Light Guards" so frankly tendered, and should events render it necessary, shall promptly call you to the field to defend that flag under which our fathers fought so bravely, and to maintain that government they founded so wisely and so well.

Very respectfully,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

CHAPTER VII.

Sumter Fired On—Troops Called For—Governor's Proclamation—Calls an Extra Session of the Legislature—Raises Money for the Soldiers—Sends Ezekiel Clark and Hiram Price to Disburse It—Special Messages—State Banks Offer Money—Laws of Extra Session—omr. Audit Claims on "War and Defense Fund"—Caleb Baldwin—G. M. Dodge Adjutant.

On the 12th of April the telegraph flashed the news from one end of the country to the other that Sumter had been fired on, and our flag had been insulted by traitors, and the lightning that carried the news seemed to fire every loyal heart at the North. Never before had the loyal people of the country been fused into one homogeneous mass, where but one pulsation moved every heart, and every throb was a loyal one, as did the startling announcement that our country had been assailed at home by organized and armed traitors. The shock was so great, that party, sect and everything else subordinate to National life, were momentarily forgotten, and the expression seemed to fall from every lip, "all else must be sacrificed to save the country. The country and the Union lost, all is lost; the country saved, all will be safe."

But three days of this tremulous excitement was permitted to exist till the President issued the call for 75,000 volunteer troops, of which the quota for Iowa was one regiment. Preparations were to be made for engaging in one of the most severe of civil wars. None fiercer, more relentless, more bloody or fratricidal than this promised to be, had ever been recorded in history.

No State could be more poorly prepared for such work than was Iowa at this time. She had no military organization, except a few independent companies, and they were not well armed or equipped. Her laws on the subject were few

and of a general nature, and during a long period of peace had been almost a dead letter, or there had been no call for their enforcement. Divisions, brigades, regiments and battalions were mentioned in the law, but not one had ever existed in fact. The constitution made the Governor commander of the army, navy and militia of the State, but he had no troops belonging to either arm of the service that he could command. But troops had to be raised, and he for that purpose issued the following:

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has made a requisition on the Executive of the State of Iowa for one regiment of militia, to aid the Federal Government in enforcing its laws and suppressing rebellion. Now therefore I, Samuel J. Kirkwood, Governor of the State of Iowa, do issue this proclamation and hereby call upon the militia of this State immediately to form in the different counties volunteer companies, with the view of entering the active military service of the United States for the purpose aforesaid. The regiment at present required will consist of ten companies of at least seventy-eight men each, one captain and two lieutenants to be elected by each company.

Under the present requisition only one regiment can be accepted, and the companies accepted must hold themselves in readiness for duty by the 20th of May next at farthest. If a sufficient number of companies are tendered, their service may be required. If more companies are formed and reported than can be received under the present call, their services will be required in the event of another requisition upon this State. The nation is in peril. A fearful attempt is being made to overthrow the Constitution and dissolve the Union. The aid of every loyal citizen is invoked to sustain the General Government.

For the honor of our State let the requirement of the President be cheerfully and promptly met.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

Iowa City, April 17, A. D. 1861.

At this time our Governor happened not to be a military man. His whole life had been devoted to "the useful arts of peace." His life study had been how to make men better, how best to preserve and ennoble life, rather than how easiest and quickest to destroy it.

The telegram from the President to the Governor calling

for a regiment of troops reached Davenport, then the most western telegraph station, and was taken from there in hot haste by Wm. Vandever, then member of Congress, but later a general in the army, to Iowa City where he found the Governor on his farm, in his overalls and stoga boots, looking after his stock, and after reading the despatch he exclaimed, "Why the President wants a *whole regiment of men!* Do you suppose, Mr. Vandever, I can raise that many?"

That he might be within reach of the General Government by telegraph he repaired at once to Davenport, and got there in time to take part in one of the most enthusiastic meetings ever held in Iowa. The meeting was presided over by Mayor French; speeches were made by Messrs. C. C. Nourse, Wm. Vandever, Jacob Butler, Judge Dillon, Rev. Collier, Gov. Kirkwood, and Mr. Booth, the latter an old time Democrat. During his speech Gov. Kirkwood is reported to have said: "He would raise the regiment as required. He would not call a session of the Legislature, as it would involve great expense, and it could be dispensed with. The expense of enlistment and sending away the regiment would cost about \$10,000, and this matter could be attended to without the present intervention of the Legislature. The Governor said he would see that these expenses were paid till the regiment was handed over to the government. He said that \$10,000 would be raised for this purpose if he had to pledge every dollar of his own property "

The report adds: "He made an eloquent appeal to the patriotism of his listeners, and though sick, gave them one of the most stirring addresses of the evening."

The Governor had not now found out how great a labor had been devolved upon him, nor how great the task before him. In less than a month from the time of making this speech he called an extra session of the Legislature, and it was not done any too early. In his ignorance relating to military affairs he called to his assistance Judge Dillon of the

Supreme Court, only to find that the judge's knowledge on such matters was quite as meagre as his own, and in his dilemma he sent for Gen. McKean, a citizen of Marion in Linn county, and a graduate of the West Point Military School, who had been in the military service of the country, who was well informed on all military affairs in every detail, and he came and assisted in the organization of the companies and the regiment until it was proposed to elect him its colonel by a vote of the regiment. This seemed in some way contrary to his military ideas, when he went home refusing to stay any longer. The regiment was organized with J. F. Bates as Colonel, Wm. H. Merritt, Lieut. Colonel.

Here at once began that watchful care of "his boys," as the Governor always called the Iowa soldiers, that he exercised over them during his whole administration. In camp, in field, on the march, in hospital, wherever they were, his best efforts were exerted for their welfare and comfort, and he was never more sensitive than when their wants were unprovided for, their valor questioned, their courage doubted or their patriotism impugned.

Before this regiment was fully organized offers of several more were made. As the Governor quaintly expressed it, he was "embarrassed with riches in the offers made of men," for the call on him was for but one regiment and he had offers of four; but as he thought more men would be needed, enlistments for more regiments were encouraged, but his recommendation was that they should remain at their homes attending to their usual business, and get together for frequent drill till they were wanted, as it was much better than to be idling away their time in camp without organization, officers, arms and equipments. That time was not far in the future, for on the third of May the President issued his proclamation for the raising of 200,000 additional troops, and soon thereafter two additional regiments were in camp Ellsworth at Keokuk, and another at Council Bluffs.

Keokuk was fixed upon as the place and the 20th of May as the time for the rendezvous of the first regiment. There was at this time not a thing with which to equip or clothe the soldiers, no money in the treasury, and no provision for raising any. Finally some very poor, thin, sleazy gray satinet, half cotton and half wool, only fit for summer wear was obtained and of this the patriotic ladies in the various localities where the companies were raised associated themselves together as "Soldier's Aid Societies" and made up the clothing. It was thought that it would be sufficient for the first regiment, as they would have but three months to serve, and that during the warm months of summer, but the boys, before the march to Springfield in Missouri, had got their thin clothes badly worn out, especially behind, and many of them took flour sacks and made themselves aprons and wore them there instead of in front. When Gen. Lyon saw the first one of these on a soldier, he ordered him to remove it at once, but when he found its removal left the whole fighting force of that soldier without a "rear guard" and exposed to the jibes and jokes of friend and foe, he ordered it quickly replaced.

So ragged an appearance did the First Iowa present on its march to Springfield, that Gen. Lyon called them his "tatterdemalion gypsies," and when afterward they outmarched all his other troops, he called them his "Iowa Greyhounds." Had he survived the battle of Wilson's Creek, he would have undoubtedly rechristened them his "valiant patriotic Iowa heroes," for they saved our troops from defeat there, by doing some most persistent and desperate fighting, after their term of enlistment had expired, and by thinning their ranks with the loss of 160 men.

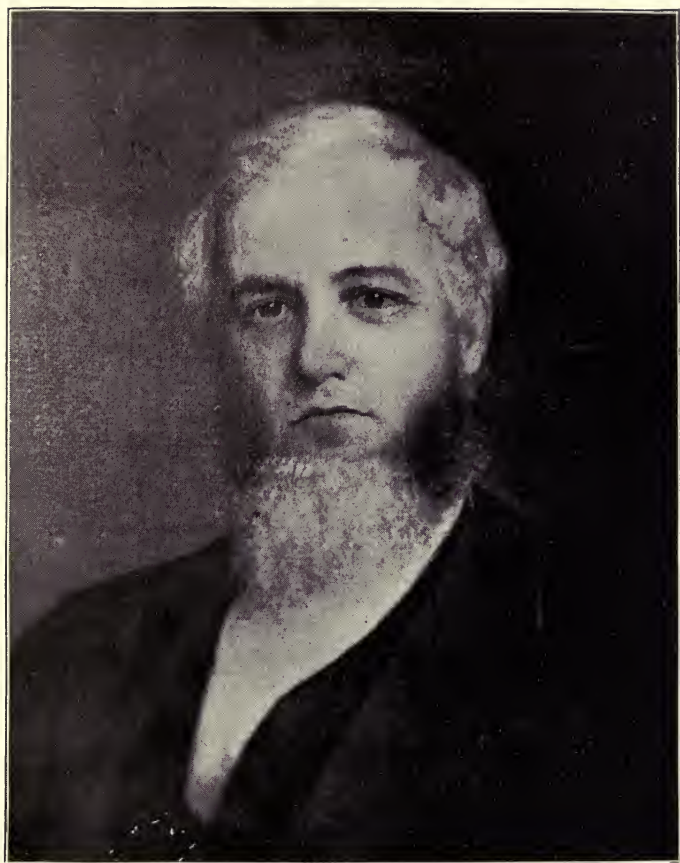
On the 4th of June, after the adjournment of the Legislature, the Governor and several of the members of the General Assembly visited the soldiers in camp and found there a very unpleasant condition of things. There was at

this time a stringency in the money market, and the boys were without funds. But few of them had money enough to buy a cigar, a plug of tobacco, or a postage-stamp. They had been hurried from home into camp mostly by steamboats on the Mississippi river. Their departure from home was so hurried that they had but little time to prepare for it.

At the extra session a law had been passed providing that the State should pay the soldiers from the time of their enlistment until they were mustered into the United States Service, and this was called their "State pay." The soldiers had learned of the passage of this law, and not knowing the depleted condition of the State Treasury, supposed the money would be paid them at once, and as the Governor passed through the camp he would hear the soldiers, not knowing him, say, "It's a burning shame that the Governor will not furnish us our 'State pay.'" Some of the members of the legislature who knew the depleted condition of the Treasury and the situation of things as well as he did, instead of telling them he had no money, said to them, "The Governor ought to pay you."

To say that this conduct on their part displeased him would be expressing it too mildly—it really angered him; it stirred that usually placid temper of his to its profoundest depths.

He went back to Des Moines, and as a large appropriation had been made for a Governor's contingent fund to meet his expenses, which it was expected would be quite heavy, he drew the money from the Treasury, brought it to Iowa City, went into the branch of the State Bank there, of which his brother-in-law, Ezekiel Clark, was president, and told him he had called to get for the State just as much money as the bank could spare. He stated that he had no authority to do this other than the general law that the soldiers who had enlisted were entitled to their pay, and should be paid. Having secured what he could from Mr.



E. Clark



Clark's bank, with it and the contingent fund, he sent that gentleman to Davenport to see what could be got from the branch of the State Bank there, of which Hiram Price was president. As security for the payment of these loans so made from these banks, he gave his notes as Governor of the State, making himself individually liable for their payment, by his individual indorsement of them. For the money to be got at Davenport he sent a blank note, signed and indorsed, to be filled up when the money was obtained. Mr. Clark's name was on the note for the money got here. There was no authority of law for these transactions, but "necessity knows no law," and, as a "war measure," it was the best and only thing that could be done to get the "boys" their pay; and it was well for them and the State that we had a Governor who knew what was best to be done, who had the ability and courage, and who would "take the responsibility" to do it, and do it at once.

With this money Messrs. Price and Clark were sent by the Governor to Keokuk to act as State Paymasters—to furnish the soldiers with their much and long needed pay. Before they reached Keokuk, however, the troops had been ordered into Missouri, and they followed closely on, but as that State was then bristling with bushwackers and guerrillas, they obtained an escort to accompany them, overtaking the troops at Booneville, furnishing them their pay, and where they had not enough to pay in full, made an equitable division so that all got a share.

By the action of the mob in Baltimore, all communication with Washington was cut off, and the Governor needed to be in constant communication with the war officers of the Government, and as he could not be, either by telegraph or mail, he was at his wit's end, and in this dilemma he went down to Burlington to consult Governor Grimes and induce him to go to Washington for him. He thought it would be hard work to prevail upon him to go, but if he went, he felt

assured all would be done that could be. He met Governor Grimes in his front yard, where they had some talk about the condition of affairs; but he waited till they got into the house before the purpose of his coming was made known. As he was acquainted with Mrs. Grimes, he wanted her help in the furtherance of his plans, which were that, as he was shut off from all communication by telegraph and by mail with the Government, Governor Grimes should proceed at once to Washington, and there do what was necessary to be done for us in raising, arming, equipping and sending forward our troops.

He at first was averse to going, for he said, "I cannot get through." But the result was that Governor Grimes packed his grip-sack and the two Governors left Burlington together, the one for home and the other for Washington, and Governor Grimes got through with the first regiment that left Baltimore. No other man in the State than Governor Kirkwood could have induced Governor Grimes to undertake this business.

The President had concluded that the uprising of the South was to be no such small affair as the Whiskey Rebellion in Western Pennsylvania in 1794, suppressed by Washington, or the Shays Insurrection in Massachusetts in 1787, put down by Gen. Lincoln, and he called a special session of Congress to meet on the 4th of July to make full and complete arrangements for a protracted war; and the Governor's call was out for an extra session of the Legislature to meet on the 15th of May. On their assembling, he delivered to them this

SPECIAL MESSAGE.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:

The Constitution requires that I shall state to you the purpose for which you have been convened in Extraordinary Session.

When, a little more than a year ago, your regular session closed, the whole country was in the enjoyment of peace and prosperity. At

home, life, liberty and property were secure, and abroad the title of an American citizen was claimed with pride, and a full assurance that it was a sure guaranty of respect and protection to all who could make good the claim. To-day civil war is upon us, and a wide-spread conspiracy against the General Government, which we now know has been maturing for years, has been developed, and the whole country is filled with the din of arms. On the one hand, and from one section of the country, men who should be loyal citizens, if benefits conferred by a government should make men loyal to it, are mustering in armed bands with the intent to dissolve the Union and destroy our government, and on the other hand, partially from the same section, and as one man, from the other, our loyal people are rallying around our Union and our government, and pledging for their maintenance what our fathers so freely periled to secure for them—life, fortune and honor.

In this emergency Iowa must not and does not occupy a doubtful position. For the Union as our fathers formed it, and for the government they founded so wisely and so well, the people of Iowa are ready to pledge every fighting man in the State and every dollar of her money and credit; and I have called you together in extraordinary session for the purpose of enabling them to make that pledge formal and effective.

Those who, to gratify their mad ambition, have brought upon the country this great evil, seek to disguise their true intent, to cover their true purpose. They say they do not desire to destroy our Government, but that it has become hostile to them, and they only wish to peacefully withdraw themselves from it, which they claim the right to do whenever, in their judgment, their interest or safety may require such action. Many loyal men, deceived by their professions and not perceiving that "peaceful secession" was destructive alike of the Constitution and Union, were unwilling that any coercive measures should be used to bring them back to a sense of their duty. How are the facts? Our government is based on these great central, controlling ideas. The people are the only true source of power. In the exercise of their power, they have created our present form of government, retaining in their own hands its management and control. They have honesty enough to desire, and intelligence enough to discern, the right, and if at any time they should, by reason of excitement or passion, misdirect the action of government and do wrong to any portion of themselves, their honesty and their intelligence can be surely relied upon to correct such wrongs. These are the fundamental ideas of our form of government, and when any section of our country or any portion of our people, alleging that wrongs have been done them, declare they cannot and will not rely upon the honesty and intelligence of our people to right such wrongs, but will right their wrongs

in their own way and by their own hands, they strike a blow which, if not arrested, will crumble the fabric of our government into ruins.

Has the Government been hostile to them? At the time this unnatural rebellion commenced there was not on the statute books of the United States a single law that had not been dictated or assented to by their Representatives. The recent election, of the result of which they so loudly complain, had placed in the Presidential chair a person opposed to their policy upon one important question, but had left them in possession of two other independent and co-ordinate branches of the Government, so that it was utterly impossible any injury could result to them from the election of a President who was not their choice. Under these circumstances, without waiting to see what would be the disposition of the newly elected President, without trusting to Congress and the Judiciary yet under their control, without waiting for an appeal to the honesty and intelligence of the people to right any wrongs that might be attempted against them, they rebelled against the Government, and sought to destroy it by arms. They have seized by force the forts, arsenals, ships and treasure, and have set at defiance the laws and officers of the United States, and they have sought to set up within the Union another and independent government. They have for months past been levying troops, building forts and gathering munitions of war, with intent to make war upon our Government, if it should attempt to perform its lawful functions, and, after months of preparation, have attacked with overwhelming numbers and captured the troops of the United States, holding a fort of the United States, and have, so far as in them lies, dishonored that proud flag, which throughout the world is the emblem of the power, the honor and the glory of our nation.

What in the meantime has been the action of our Government towards these misguided men? The history of the world cannot show equal moderation and forbearance by any government towards a portion of its people in rebellion against its laws. For months some of these men were allowed to hold high positions in the Cabinet, and used their official power only to betray the government of which they were the sworn and trusted servants. For months many of them were allowed to retain their seats in both branches of Congress, and used their positions to defeat the enactment of wholesome laws necessary for the protection of the government. For months many of them were permitted to hold high command in the army and navy, and used their position to betray and dishonor the flag they had sworn to protect and defend. For months the government yielded, step by step, and had used only words of kindness and good-will. But forbearance, moderation and kindness were regarded only as evidences of weakness, imbecility and cowardice, until at last the crowning outrage at Fort Sumter convinced all men that further forbearance had indeed ceased

to be a virtue, and would make those charged with the safety of the government as criminal as those who were seeking to destroy it. At last the Government has spoken, and has called the loyal men of the country to rally to its support, and the answer has been such as to show the world the strength of a government founded on the love of a free people.

On the 15th day of April last the President issued his Proclamation, calling upon the loyal States for aid to enforce the laws. On the 25th day of the same month, I received from the Secretary of War a requisition on this State dated on the 15th, calling for one regiment of troops. Having been before advised by telegraph that such requisition had been issued, I felt well assured that I would be carrying out your will and the will of the people of the State, in responding to the call as promptly as possible. I therefore did not wait the receipt of the formal requisition, but proceeded at once to take such steps as seemed to me best adapted to speedily effect that object. I was met at the outset by two difficulties. There were not any funds under my control to meet the necessary expenses, nor was there any efficient military law under which to operate. Your action only could furnish these aids in a legal way, and yet to await your action would involve great, perhaps dangerous, delay.

The first difficulty was obviated by the patriotic action of the chartered Banks and citizens of the State, who promptly placed at my disposal all the money I might need, and I determined, although without authority of law, to accept their offer, trusting that you would legalize my acts. One difficulty thus avoided, I trusted, as the result shows, safely, to the patriotism of the people for the removal of the other, and on the 17th day of April issued my Proclamation calling for the requisite number of troops.

The telegraphic dispatch of the Secretary of War informed me that it would be sufficient if the troops required of this State were in rendezvous at Keokuk, by the 20th inst. The prompt and patriotic action of the people enabled me to place them there in uniform on the 8th, twelve days in advance of the time fixed, and they would have been there a week sooner had not the action of the mob at Baltimore cut off all communication with the seat of Government, and left me without any instructions for two weeks. I recommend that you make suitable appropriations, covering expenses thus incurred.

Tenders of troops were made altogether beyond the amount required, and learning from the newspapers and other sources, that another requisition would probably be made on this State, I took the responsibility of ordering into quarters, in the respective counties where raised, enough companies to form a second regiment in anticipation of such requisition, that they might acquire the necessary discipline and drill. The second requisition has not yet reached me, but

I am expecting it daily, and am prepared to respond to it promptly when made.

The officers and men composing the first regiment were in quarters for some time before being mustered into the service of the United States, and those called out in anticipation of a second requisition, will have been in quarters a considerable time before they will be called into service, if at all. It is but just that provision be made for payment of the men who have thus promptly and patriotically stepped forth in defense of the country, for the time lost by them before being actually received by the United States, and I recommend that you make the necessary appropriations for that purpose.

In addition to the two regiments thus accepted by me, I have already received tenders of companies enough to make up five regiments more, and I have been strongly urged by them, and by many other good citizens, to accept the whole, and place them in quarters at the expense of the State. In view of the facts that all I had done was without authority of law, and the further fact that you, the law-making power of the State, was so soon to assemble, I did not feel justified in so doing, but have recommended in all cases that all such companies should if possible keep up their organization, and should devote as much of their time as possible to the drill without interfering materially with their ordinary business, thus keeping in reserve a large organized and partially drilled force, to meet emergencies.

In several localities patriotic citizens have at their own expense furnished subsistence for companies thus organized, and not accepted, and they have been in quarters drilling daily. Whether any of the expenses thus incurred shall be paid by the State, or whether any compensation shall be made to the men for the time thus spent in quarters, is peculiarly within your province to determine.

In addition to the passage of laws legalizing what has thus far been done, and providing for expenses thus far incurred, it will be your duty carefully to examine what further the State should do to meet present necessities, and future contingencies.

In my judgment there are two objects which in your deliberation you should keep steadily in view, and which I recommend to your serious consideration, viz: the protection of our State against invasion and the prompt supply to the General Government of any further aid it may require.

Our State is supposed by many to be exposed to attack, on two sides—our Southern and Western borders—on the South by reckless men from Missouri; on the West by Indians. Missouri is unfortunately strongly infected with the heresy of secession, which is hurrying so many of the Southern States to ruin. What may be the ultimate result in that State, we do not know. Should she unfortunately attempt to dissolve her connection with the Union, serious trouble

may, and probably will, spring up along our Southern border. Even in that event I can hardly anticipate an armed invasion by regular military forces from that State. Surrounded as she is by Kansas, Illinois and Iowa such invasion by her would be sheer madness, and it seems to me we are guarded against such danger if not by her calm judgment and her neighborly good will, at least by her instinct of self-preservation. But lawless, reckless men within her limits may take advantage of the unsettled condition of public affairs to organize a system of border warfare, for the purpose of plunder, and it is your duty to properly guard against this danger.

The known facts that the troops have wholly or in a great part been withdrawn from the forts in the territories west of us, and the restraint of their presence thus removed from the Indian tribes on our border, that the Indians have received, probably highly-colored statements in regard to the war now upon us, and that since the massacre at Spirit Lake in our State, some years since, which went wholly unpunished, they have shown an aggressive disposition, coupled with the probability that they may be tampered with by bad men, render it, in my judgment, matter of imperative necessity that proper measures be taken to guard against danger from that quarter.

I have already done what I could, with the limited means at my command, to furnish arms on both borders.

Two modes for the protection of the State and furnishing further aid, if needed, to the General Government, suggest themselves to me. One is the mustering into the service of the State, arming, equipping and placing in camp to acquire discipline and drill, a number of regiments of volunteers. The advantages of this are, that we would have at hand a disciplined force, ready to meet any emergency, State or National. The disadvantages are its expense, and its insufficiency, by reason of the great extent of our border, to protect our frontier against the lawless bands to which we are exposed. The other plan is to organize along our Southern and Western frontier, arm and equip but not muster into active service, a sufficient force of minute men, who may be called upon at any moment to meet any emergency that may arise at any point. This will be the more effective plan for home protection, but will not place the State in position to render such effective aid to the General Government. Which, if either, of these plans, or whether a combination of both, or whether something wholly distinct from either shall be adopted, I leave for your wisdom to decide.

It will be necessary that you enact a military law, authorizing, among other things, the formation of a military staff under which I can have the assistance and advice of such officers as compose it, in raising, arming, equipping and supporting such further troops as you may direct to be raised for the use of the State or as may be required by the United States,

It will also be necessary to use the credit of the State to raise means to meet the extraordinary expenses incurred, and to be incurred. You have the power to do this under that provision of the Constitution which authorizes without a vote of the people the contracting of a debt "to repel invasion" or to "defend the State in war."

In most or all of the counties in which companies have thus far been accepted, the Board of Supervisors or public spirited citizens have raised means for the support of the families of volunteers who have left families dependent on them for support. This action is eminently praiseworthy and yet its operation is partial and unequal. It is scarcely to be presumed that companies will be received from all the counties of the State, or equally from those counties from which they may be received, and it seems to me much more equitable and just that the expense be borne by the State, and the burden thus equally distributed among our people.

The procuring of a liberal supply of arms for the use of the State, is a matter that I earnestly recommend to your early and serious consideration. The last four weeks have taught us a lesson which I trust we may never forget, that during peace is the proper time to prepare for war.

I feel assured the State can readily raise the means necessary to place her in a position consistent alike with her honor and her safety. Her territory of great extent and unsurpassed fertility, inviting and constantly receiving a desirable immigration, her population of near three quarters of a million of intelligent, industrious, energetic and liberty-loving people, her rapid past, and prospective growth, her present financial condition, having a debt of only about one quarter of a million of dollars, unite to make her bonds among the most desirable investments that our country affords.

The people of Iowa, your constituents and mine, remembering that money is the sinews of war, will consider alike criminal a mistaken parsimony which stops short of doing whatever is necessary for the honor and safety of the State and a wild extravagance which would unnecessarily squander the public treasure.

Our revenue law is, in my judgment, defective in some particulars, requiring, perhaps, some unnecessary expense and not being sufficiently stringent to compel the prompt payment of taxes. At all times, and more especially at a time like this, every good citizen should cheerfully contribute his share of the public burdens, and those who are not disposed to do so should feel the force of stringent laws insuring the performance of that duty. A failure to pay taxes promptly compels the State to use her warrants instead of cash, to carry on the operations of the government, and adds to the expense of the State, not only the increased prices she is compelled to pay for articles purchased for her use over and above the prices at which she could buy

for cash, but also the interest upon the warrants issued until the same are paid.

I earnestly recommend a careful examination and a full use of your Constitutional powers to punish the men, if any there be, in our State who may feel disposed to furnish aid in any way to those who are or may be in rebellion against the United States or engaged in acts of hostility to this State.

The great haste in which, amidst the pressure of other duties, I have been compelled to prepare this message, renders it very probable that I may have overlooked some subjects that you may deem of importance in the present emergency. When convened in extra session, your powers of legislation have the same scope and limit as at your regular sessions, and I feel confident your wisdom and foresight will supply all such omissions.

Permit me in conclusion to express the hope that what you do, may be done promptly, calmly and thoroughly. Let us take no counsel from passion, nor give way to excitement. Let us look our situation boldly and squarely in the face, and address ourselves to and do our duty like men who believe that while we hold to our father's faith and tread in our father's steps, the God of our fathers will stand by us in the time of our trial as He stood by them in the time of theirs.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD

On learning the condition of the Treasury, and the financial needs of the State, W. T. Smith, President of the branch of the State Bank at Oskaloosa, wrote to the Governor: "Draw on us for what you want and we will let you have all we can spare." J. K. Graves, at Dubuque, wrote: "Our bank will honor your drafts to the amount of \$30,000." And it seemed that the patriotism of the people had opened and invaded nearly every bank vault in the State, for responses like these came from nearly every one of them, and the Governor availed himself of nearly all these offers to obtain funds; but to draw for all he wanted would have crippled the banks, and it was not good policy or justice to do that. Even the few railroads we had in the State became imbued with patriotism, for offers came from them all offering free transportation for all our troops.

The members of the Legislature were almost unanimously in harmony with the Governor in the recommendations contained in the message. Party affiliations were for the time

forgotten, and officers of the Legislature were chosen from both parties. That foul brood of political serpents known as "Copperheads" had not then been hatched, but incubation for that purpose was not long delayed.

In the Revised Statutes of 1843, known as the "Blue Book" of territorial days, there was a very full and complete militia law, but we look in vain in the codes of 1851 and 1860 for any such statutes.

The Legislature was in session from the 15th to the 29th of May, and during that time, among others, they passed a general militia law, and one for raising two regiments of infantry, one battalion of not less than three companies of artillery, one squadron of not less than five companies of cavalry and one regiment of mounted riflemen. This force was State troops for the protection of our southern borders from the inroads of Southern traitors, and our western and northern borders from the incursions of hostile Indians. A law was passed authorizing the Governor to purchase arms, powder, clothing and other munitions of war; one forbidding the commencement of civil suits at law against any volunteer soldier during the term of his enlistment, and continuing those that had been commenced; one for the issue of \$800,000 of State bonds for a "War and Defense Fund;" one for the payment of volunteer soldiers of the State till they were mustered into the service of the United States; one for the support of the families of volunteer soldiers by the different counties of the State, and one to regulate the staff of the Governor as commander-in-chief of the forces of the State.

On his staff he afterwards appointed as aides: William B. Allison, Rush Clark, Add H. Sanders and John C. Culbertson, with the rank and pay of a lieutenant-colonel of cavalry.

Although the law provided for the issuing of \$800,000 of bonds, drawing 7 per cent. interest, the Governor of the

State, Charles Mason, William Smyth, James Baker and C. W. Slagle were made a Board of Commissioners to determine from time to time how many bonds it was necessary to issue. The sale of these bonds was advertised in the papers in New York, Boston and Chicago, but before they were offered some of the Copperhead newspapers of the State, like the dirty bird that befouls its own nest, had begun to decry them, claiming that the law providing for their issue was unconstitutional.

One man in New York offered to take a large quantity of them at a discount of 25 per cent. and pay for them in clothing for the soldiers at a high price. It was supposed that a company in the State had been, or was about to be, formed to buy them up at a big discount, but the Governor was anxious that no great sacrifice should be made on them, as he thought that a State as rich as Iowa in natural resources, though they had then not been fully developed, would, in the near future, be able to redeem them. There was also a large amount of uncollected taxes that could be made available for keeping up the credit of the State, and there would be ready money when those taxes were paid.

When it was found that a general sale of them in the open market at the stock boards of the country could not be made, except at a ruinous discount, in order that a market value might be put upon them, a few were offered in the open market in New York, and Mr. Ezekiel Clark, President of the branch bank of the State at Iowa City, bought them for 94 cents on the dollar, and those afterwards sold at home were sold at that rate. There was a provision of law that they should not be sold for less price than they brought on the Open Stock Board in New York. Mr. Clark had been recalled by telegraph from Missouri, where he had been sent to pay the members of the First Iowa Regiment, and was sent East on this business.

The bonds not finding a market at the East were brought

back, when Mr. E. C. Lyon, of Iowa City, took \$25,000 of them, and some of the State banks took a portion. Every effort was made to find a market for them at home and most of those efforts were eventually, but not immediately, successful.

When soldiers were rendezvoused in camp at various places, many of those who furnished them supplies took part payment for those supplies in bonds, and in different parts of the State they were disposed of at only a small discount, and by the Governor's prudent management with their disposition and sale a large amount was saved to the State. The money raised by their sale was called the "War and Defense Fund," and its disbursement was committed to a Board of Commissioners, composed of John N. Dewey, Isaac W. Griffith and S. R. Ingham, and that Board had the privilege of meeting at any place in the State where troops were or had been quartered, and such meetings were held for the convenience of those in the neighborhood who had claims on the "War and Defense Fund" for supplies they had furnished, and these claims had to be audited and allowed or rejected by this Board. All payments into and from this fund were made in coin as provided by law. Isaac W. Griffith afterwards resigned as one of the commissioners and F. R. West was appointed to fill the vacancy.

Only \$300,000 of these bonds were sold; the other \$500,000 were destroyed, after being passed over to Governor Kirkwood's successor.

Under authority of the law passed for that purpose, the families of enlisted soldiers were looked after during their absence in the service and their wants supplied in most of the counties by Boards of Supervisors or agents appointed by them for that purpose.

During the session of the Legislature several messages were sent from the Governor to the body calling for information. Here is one that explains itself:

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:—In reply to your resolutions of inquiry in regard to clothing furnished the First Iowa Regiment, I have the honor to say:

When the telegraphic dispatch from the Secretary of War informing me of the requisition for the First Regiment reached me, I did not anticipate the uniforming the men at the expense of the State, as such course had not, so far as I knew or could learn, been pursued in the Mexican War. Fearing, however, that the suddenness of the danger might render it desirable to furnish uniforms, I immediately wrote to the Secretary of War asking information on that point; but the interruption of communication at Baltimore prevented me from receiving any answer. Judging from the fact that other States were preparing for uniforming their volunteers, that it would be desirable to have the same done here, I sent an agent to Chicago to purchase materials for uniforms; but the sudden and great demand for that kind of goods had exhausted the supplies in that city. On learning this by telegraph, and fearing there would not be time to await a supply from New York, I immediately instructed the persons acting as Commissaries to purchase materials and make uniforms at the points where the several companies had been raised. The persons who had the matter in charge at the several points were, at Dubuque, D. N. Cooley Esq. and Capt. F. J. Herron. Capt. Herron was sent specially from Davenport to Dubuque to select the materials and direct the uniforms in such manner as the companies preferred. At Cedar Rapids, Dr. Carpenter; at Davenport, Hiram Price Esq.; at Muscatine, Hon. Jos. A. Greene, and at Burlington, Major J. G. Lauman. At Muscatine and Iowa City the material was purchased and the making of the clothes superintended by committees of citizens. Under these circumstances it was impossible to procure the same uniform for the whole regiment. All that could be done was to have the men of each company clothed alike, but differing from those of other companies. It was also impossible to procure as good material as would have been desirable, had more time been allowed. Much of the clothing was made by the ladies, which to that extent lessened the cost. The amount of clothing furnished, so far as the means now in my possession enable me to state, is as follows:

Capt. Herron's company, Dubuque; each man, hat, frock coat, pants, two flannel shirts, two pairs of socks and pair of shoes.

Capt. Gottschalk's company, Dubuque; blouse instead of coat, and other articles same as Capt. Herron's.

Capt. Cook's company, Cedar Rapids; hat, two flannel shirts, pants, socks and shoes, no jacket or coat.

Capt. Mahanna's company, Iowa City; hat, jacket, pants, two flannel shirts, socks and shoes.

Capt. Wentz's company, Davenport; hats, blouse, pants, two flannel shirts, socks and shoes.

Capt. Cumming's company, Muscatine; cap, jacket, pants, two flannel shirts, socks and shoes.

Capt. Mason's company, Muscatine; same as Capt. Cumming's.

Capt. Matthies' company, Burlington; hat, blouse, pants, two flannel shirts, socks and shoes.

Capt. Streaper's company, Burlington; same as Capt. Matthies'.

Capt. Wise's company, Mt. Pleasant; same as Capt. Matthies'.

I am not certain that all the companies were furnished with socks, shoes and shirts. Some of the shoes, I have reason to believe, were not of good quality costing only from \$1.25 to \$1.50 per pair, others I know were good, costing from \$2.00 to \$2.50 per pair. One thousand extra shirts were sent to Keokuk to supply any deficiency that may have existed in that particular. Most of the material for pants was satinett, and not of good quality, costing, as far as the same came under my observation, from forty to sixty cents per yard by the quantity. The entire amount expended for clothing, so far as I can give it from the data in my possession, is about \$12,000 or \$13,000. If it be desirable in your judgment to have the companies of this regiment uniformed alike, it will be necessary to furnish all with coats and pants of the same make, and to furnish an additional number of hats or caps. Hats were procured for all, but some preferred the cap and procured it, and the cost has been provided for. I cannot think that all the companies need new shoes, as some of the shoes furnished were of excellent quality and have not yet been worn more than two or three weeks.

I am satisfied that it is for the comfort of these troops that many of them be furnished with pants and shoes, and some with socks. As the Second and Third regiments will be clothed throughout alike, it would no doubt be very gratifying to the First regiment to be placed in the same position, and it will afford me much pleasure to carry out whatever may be your wishes in regard to it.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

May 23, 1861.

Another message on another subject was presented the next day.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER. }
Des Moines, May 24, 1861. }

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:—Since the commencement of your session, I have been engaged, as fully as my other duties would permit, in collecting and comparing information from the different parts of our exposed frontier, as to what is necessary for the protection of that portion of our State, and in making estimates of the sums necessary, in my opinion, for that and other purposes connected with the present and possibly future emergency.

The pressing need upon our border is for arms and ammunition. The people are willing and confident of their ability to defend themselves from what they most fear, the depredations of Indians and plunderers, provided they are promptly furnished with good arms and ammunition, and until this shall be done they will be in a state of uneasiness and alarm to a greater or less degree, as the various localities are more or less exposed. I consider it a matter of primary importance that your action on this matter be as speedy as may in your judgment be consistent with proper deliberation. I would have sent an agent to find and contract for arms for this purpose in anticipation of your action, but for the fact that the provisions of the bill for that purpose pending before you, require that said agent shall be nominated to and confirmed by the Senate. The appointment by me of an agent for that purpose, and the sending him on his mission in advance of the passage of the law, under the circumstances, would have been improper and highly censurable.

I fear that the present great demand for arms by the United States and the different States, will cause considerable delay in procuring arms after I have authority to act, and I therefore again respectfully recommend that your action on this subject be as speedy as possible. I am distinctly of the opinion that in view of our present condition, and the uncertainty of the future, it is highly desirable with reference both to our duty to our State and to the General Government, that you make provision for the organization, encampment and drilling for a limited time, of not less than three skeleton regiments at the expense of the State. With a liberal provision for the purchase of arms and ammunition for the use of mounted men, for the defense of the border, and a provision for three regiments for a limited time at the expense of the State, I think Iowa will be placed in a position consistent alike with her honor and safety.

But to do this, and at the same time make prudent provision for the uncertain future will in my judgment require that you make provision for the loan of at least a million of dollars. The best estimates I can make are that the expenses already incurred, and that must be incurred in case that the measures above recommended be adopted, will amount to half a million, and it seems to me very clear that to leave me with all this machinery on hand for the purposes above indicated, and without leaving under my control the means necessary for the purposes for which it was provided, will not be either safe or prudent.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

In answer to resolutions of the House of May 20, of inquiry as to the cost of raising, organizing and placing in camp at Keokuk the first regiment and what had been done

toward raising the second regiment, the Governor communicated the facts, giving expenses in detail which including three weeks' pay for the First aggregate \$39,229.82, and for the Second including one months' pay \$50,000, in addition to the above were the items expended for both regiments in sending Senator Grimes to Washington, and Capt. Herron to Springfield, Ill., to obtain arms from Gov. Yates. and other items \$4,493, making in all \$93,722 expended for the two regiments, and in this sum not one cent is included for arms for these had not then been furnished.

The Governor says further:

"In reply to the third and last clause in the resolution I have to say, that in addition to advising private parties on the western frontier to organize and perfect their drill with such private arms as they might be able to obtain, I have written the following letter, viz:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, }
April 25, 1861. }

Hon. Caleb Baldwin, Council Bluffs, Iowa:

DEAR SIR:—I hand you herewith blank commission for military companies in the western part of the State. Please fill them up and deliver them to the officers elected by companies organized under your direction. I am informed some uneasiness exists on the western frontier lest the border counties suffer from attacks by Indians, or lawless men from Missouri. There are not now any arms to send there except about fifty muskets that will be sent at once. The people should organize as minute men, and arm themselves with private arms as best they can. I authorize you to make such arrangements as you may think the safety of the border requires in the way of organizing and of perfecting a system of communication with each other in case of need. You are also authorized to call any of these companies into service, if in your judgment the public safety requires, and continue them in service as long as the necessity may require. If they are called on to act against Indians, they had better act as mounted men. From necessity I leave the whole matter in your discretion, confident that you will in all respects act with due regard to the safety of the frontier, and the public interest. In case you are compelled to call out any of the companies let me know at once. I will recommend to the General Assembly the payment of the men for any time they may be in actual service under your direction.

Very truly,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.



C. Baldern



A number of companies have been organized under the foregoing instructions but so far as yet advised none have been called into actual service. Some expense has been incurred in the purchase of ammunition, but I am not informed as to the amount.

I have forwarded to Council Bluffs 140 stands of arms, and have ordered one 8-lb. field piece and forty revolvers with the necessary equipments and ammunition transported thither without delay, incurring for express charges, freight, etc., an expense now known of, \$359.95. The force necessary to protect the north and western frontier should be had by organizing in each county a company of mounted rangers, who should meet for drill and company exercise as often as their patriotism and interest might induce them to do, and the expense attending such force consists in furnishing each member of a company with a rifle and sword bayonet valued at from \$23 to \$50, and a Colt's revolver valued at \$22 to \$25.

Besides the expense incurred in raising the 1st and 2nd regiments, and the protection of the frontier, there are sundry small bills the amount of which I cannot now even estimate, and in the absence of bills rendered there may be items of considerable amount which have escaped my recollection.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

It will be seen by the letter to Mr. Baldwin that the Governor placed in his hands in the matter entrusted to him all the power he himself possessed, and results showed that the power given, and the confidence reposed in him were not misplaced and could not have been placed in better hands.

To expedite the raising of troops Mr Baldwin issued the following circular:

COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA, }
May 6, 1861. }

TO THE CITIZENS OF WESTERN IOWA.

In order more fully to carry out the desire of the Governor of this State to protect our frontier settlements, I respectfully request that an effort be made to organize at least one military company in each of the western counties of the State, which shall hold itself in readiness for service at any moment there may be occasion therefor.

Each company should be composed of not less than forty, nor more than eighty good loyal citizens.

As soon as the requisite number have volunteered for the purpose of organizing a company, the members thereof will proceed to elect their officers, to whom commissions will be issued.

The rolls of the companies with the names of the officers should be forwarded to Adjutant G. M. Dodge of this city.

Arms will be provided by the Executive of this State at the earliest moment possible for all the companies thus organized.

A thorough military organization in our western counties, with plenty of arms and ammunition, is the best guaranty we can have against invasions from the savages not far from our borders, or for marauding parties whose time for operation is when our citizens are in a defenseless condition, and when our National troubles direct the attention of the Federal Government to other parts.

C. BALDWIN.

The following letter is on the same subject:

HEADQUARTERS MIL. DIV. WESTERN IOWA, }
Council Bluffs, May 8, 1861. }

Colonel Means:

DEAR SIR:—I am informed that you are in command of the military company in Woodbury county. As your point is considered one of importance on our frontier, I am instructed to urge upon you the importance of an immediate and thorough organization, and that you will report your command immediately to me that arms can be forwarded you as soon as they reach this place. The Governor has placed the organization of the western portion of the State under separate command, and one or more regiments will be immediately formed and placed in condition for actual service.

The company should be thoroughly drilled, and if possible adopt some cheap and durable uniform. I shall endeavor to have some arrangements made for quick communication with your place and would suggest that couriers from your command be provided that in case of difficulty it may be reported immediately at headquarters. The companies in Monona and Harrison, as soon as they report, will be instructed in this matter.

Very respectfully,

G. M. DODGE,

Acting Adjutant.

In answer to a resolution from the Senate, the following message was sent:

Gentlemen of the Senate:—I have the honor to state in reply to your resolution of inquiry whether I have employed an agent to purchase clothing for the two first regiments now stationed at Keokuk, that I have contracted with Hon. Samuel Merrill for the following clothing for the second and third regiments, to-wit:

2,000 gray all wool frock coats.

2,000 gray all wool pants.

2,000 gray felt hats.

4,000 gray all wool flannel shirts.

4,000 gray all wool flannel drawers.

4,000 pairs all wool knit socks.

2,000 pairs best army brogans.

Being 1 hat, 1 coat, 1 pair pants, 2 shirts, 2 pairs drawers, 2 pairs socks and 1 pair shoes for each man, at the price of \$21 for each man delivered on board cars at Boston, Mass., to be paid for when accepted and delivered by my agent there in bonds of the State at par, if the contractor will receive the bonds at par, and if not to be paid for there as soon as the money can be realized by the sale of the bonds. In obedience to a joint resolution of the General Assembly, I have also ordered from the same person 1 coat, 1 pair of pants and 1 pair of brogans for each member of the First Regiment, which will cost about \$15 per man.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

Executive Chamber, May 27, 1861.

The first three regiments raised in the State could hardly be called "boys in blue," for their uniforms were all gray.

Before the close of the session, the patriotism of some of the democrats began to fade. They could not call treason by its right name, and they christened it by such mild, soft names as "unnatural strife," "unhappy trouble," "unfortunate disagreement," "National difficulty," and those whose true names were "traitors" and "rebels," were called by them by the endearing name of "erring brethren," and some of them afterwards showed that they were *brothers* in crime with those who were *traitors* in fact. Delay and compromise were written in bold letters on too many measures they proposed. Even as profound a lawyer as the late J. C. Hall, was in favor of treating with the State of Missouri in relation to the treasonable acts of some of her citizens, although the Constitution of the United States forbid any such action by either State.

No executive of the State ever had been placed in such embarrassing circumstances or subjected to as much worry, perplexity and anxiety as was Governor Kirkwood, from the time of the President's proclamation in April, till the time when the General Government was able to supply the enlisted men of the State with uniforms, arms and rations. If

money, arms and other munitions of war could have been furnished by the loyal people of Iowa in such an abundance and with as much readiness and freedom as they furnished men to use them, the case would have been different. But these arms and munitions were not in the hands of the people, nor were they within their reach, nor was the money in their pockets with which to buy them. Had it been they would have poured it out as freely as they afterwards did their blood in the holy cause. On the 29th of April the Governor wrote to Simon Cameron, Secretary of War: "For God's sake send us arms. I ask for nothing but *arms and ammunition*. Three regiments are waiting and five thousand guns are required at once."

On the second day of May he telegraphed Simeon Draper, president of the Union Defense Committee of New York: "For God's sake send us arms. Our First Regiment has been in drill a week, a thousand strong. It has tents and blankets but no arms. The Second Regiment is full and drilling. Send us arms. Ten thousand men can be had if they can have arms."

Money, guns and other munitions of war were the great needs of the hour. The vaults of the State banks from Keokuk on the south to McGregor on the north, and from the Des Moines river on the west to the Mississippi on the east had been opened to be made subject to the drafts of the Governor upon them, although there was no law authorizing him to make such drafts. Financial relief from this source began to be felt, but not sufficiently to meet all the needs of the time. Every gun belonging to the State was hunted up and repaired. Agents were sent to St. Louis and to Gov. Yates of Illinois, who had received a supply of 5,000 stands of arms, and to Chicago for them. Every manufacturer of arms in the country was telegraphed and written to for a supply. Hon. John A. Kasson, Gov. Grimes and Fitz Henry Warren, who were in Washington, were written to to call

on the Secretary of War and urge him with all possible despatch to furnish guns and war material at the earliest possible moment, for with Bushwhackers and Guerrillas on the south, and hostile Indians on the west and north, we were threatened with war at our very doors. No other loyal State was threatened as we were early in the war. While our sister western States were protected on their west and south lines by the natural barrier—a broad river—our enemies had but to step over an imaginary boundary line to confront us face to face in our very homes.



CHAPTER VIII.

Private Secretary Appointed—N. H. Brainerd, Military Secretary—Governor Goes to Washington for Arms, etc.—Calls on Gen. Meigs—Their Interview—Re-nominated for Governor—Republican Platform. Charles Mason, Democratic Nominee—Elected by 16,000 Majority—Democratic Resolution Against Bonds and Banks—Union State Convention—Nominates Gen. Baker for Governor—He Declines—Governor Kirkwood Urged to Take the Stump—Makes a Speech, Which is Reported for the Newspapers.

During the summer, and well into the autumn, no man was more harrassed, worried and perplexed than was Governor Kirkwood. Troops were to be raised, officered, organized, fed, clothed, armed and mustered into the service, with little or no material at hand and an empty State Treasury. To save expense during the first part of his administration, he had done without a private secretary, but now the correspondence of the Executive office was becoming so voluminous that not only was a private secretary needed, but a military secretary had to be employed, the office being most ably filled by the appointment of Mr. N. H. Brainerd to the latter place; and then, with two secretaries, the Governor was not so relieved but that he had to conduct much of the correspondence himself. In reference to the letters written by him during the war, Dr. Lloyd, editor of the *Historical Record*, in copying some of them into that journal, says:

“They embrace almost every conceivable subject relating to the war. Some are answers to letters from wives imploring news of husbands, absent, perhaps, in Southern prisons; some replying to appeals for interposition for release from federal imprisonment for disloyalty; some are recommendations for appointment to government positions; many contain words of comfort and encouragement for the sick, wounded and weary at the front; some are firm warnings to refractory officers; some conciliating appeals to regimental field officers to harmonize differences between themselves and subordinates; some prom-

ises of immediate or future promotion; a few stern refusals of favor, and some plain but still eloquent vindications of the fame of Iowa soldiers."

The Governor was always zealously watchful of the fair name and fame of the State and of her troops, as is shown by these letters, and if any slight or dishonor was attempted to be put upon even the most humble of the brave men from Iowa, he raised over them whenever he could the broad shield of executive protection.

So urgent was the call for money, guns, clothing, tents and other munitions of war, and so tardily was that call being answered, that on the 5th day of August the Governor went to Washington that he might hurry up the needed supplies.

The soldiers were not uniformed when they were sent forward to St. Louis and other points in Missouri, being in their everyday working clothes, no two of them alike, making the companies and regiments when on dress parade look like "crazy-quilts," in comparison with uniformed troops from other States; and this condition of things was mortifying to the feelings of the Governor, as well as the men, and by many he was blamed for it.

His first work in Washington was to call on Quartermaster-General M. C. Meigs, presenting his case, telling him of his situation and asking him for relief. He said to the General:

"We have men and can furnish all the Government calls for, but we have no money to use for any military purpose, our treasury is empty and our credit is low. He stated the condition in which the soldiers were sent out of the State, saying it was trying both to them and to him, that he was blamed for it when he could not help it. He even said if he should consult his own feelings—and it was not wrong for him to do so—he would resign and go back to his farm and mill and attend to his own private business. He said he had come to him to see if he could not, in some way, relieve our wants. Our people not knowing the actual condition of things blame me for all of it."

Gen. Meigs replied:

"I cannot help you now, but will as soon as I can. The people of Iowa do not understand the condition of the country. I am found

fault with every day. Tens of thousands find fault with me where hundreds find fault with you. If you are fit for your place, go home and go to work and do the best you can."

He did go home and went to work, and no Governor did better or more acceptable work than he; and to-day he has the grateful thanks of the people of the whole State for the arduous, intelligent and patriotic work he did for them and their cause during that eventful period.

On the 31st day of July the State Republican Convention was held, when Governor Kirkwood was nominated for re-election, receiving 273 of the 374 votes cast on an informal ballot, and 310 of the 374 on a formal one, F. H. Warren and S. F. Miller receiving respectively 29 and 31 votes, when the nomination was made unanimous.

This vote was the best endorsement that could be given of the approval of his administration by the Republicans, and the people of the State endorsed it in November by giving him a majority of 16,600 votes over W. H. Merritt, his opponent, and this when a large drain had been made on the Republican voters of the State to furnish soldiers for the war.

The Republican platform of this year was as free from purely partizan political dogmas as it well could be, and it was one to which every true Union man could subscribe. Its eight planks might have been condensed into one, and that one would have been Gen. Jackson's famous toast at the banquet held on the anniversary of Jefferson's birthday at Washington in 1830: "OUR FEDERAL UNION—IT MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED."

On the 24th of July that Copperhead aggregation of treason and disloyalty, known as the Democratic State Convention, upon a call issued by that Prince of Copperheads, D. A. Mahoney, met in Des Moines and nominated Charles Mason for Governor and Maturin L. Fisher for Lieutenant-Governor.

In a three-column newspaper letter, Mr. Mason, after trying to show how much better his party could settle the question of Secession than by a resort to arms, accepts the nomination. Mr. Fisher, as he said, "for private reasons" declined.

The convention that nominated these men

Resolved, That the appropriation of \$800,000 made at the special session of the General Assembly is unauthorized by the Constitution.

When this appropriation was voted, or rather when the law was passed by which that amount of "War and Defense" bonds could be issued, the General Assembly was so non-partizan, and the Republicans had conceded so much that both of these men were selected, the one with the State Treasurer to negotiate and sell the bonds and the other to be one of a Board of Commissioners to issue the bonds and determine, from time to time, how many of them should be sold.

When the Governor was calling on the branches of the State Bank for the loan of money to the State of all the funds they could spare, and the branch at Oskaloosa was presided over by such a loyal Democrat as W. T. Smith, and the one at Burlington by another strong Union Democrat, W. F. Coolbaugh, and both, with the other branch banks of the State Bank, were furnishing the Governor with money, the issues of their respective banks, this convention

Resolved, That we are irreconcilably opposed to all paper money banking as being a system of legalized swindling.

Here we have the Democratic party, as represented in its State Convention, putting itself on record as being bitterly opposed to furnishing the State with anything in the shape of bonds or the issues of the State banks to be used in feeding, clothing, arming or equipping our soldiers and sending them to the war. The party that passed these resolutions had not spent many weeks after their passage till it found itself badly demoralized. It hoped to recover from that demoralization

by putting Lieutenant-Colonel Merritt in the place declined by Mr. Fisher. This did not help the party, but it put Colonel Merritt into very bad company—it was but little better than being a prisoner of war in a Confederate camp, and the position was not half as honorable. Imprisonment by open enemies is far preferable to imprisonment by secret traitors.

Judge Mason soon found it convenient to retire from the head of the ticket, when Colonel Merritt was advanced to fill the vacancy. But a loyal leader in a disloyal cause could not make his treasonable followers patriotic.

So distasteful had this band of copperhead conspirators and their doings become, that on the 29th day of August, another Democratic Convention assembled at Des Moines. This convention, called as was supposed for the purpose of *detraitorizing* the party, was presided over by Hon. Lincoln Clark of Dubuque. The forces that dominated in the former Democratic Convention, had a majority in this, and controlled its action, and renominated its candidates.

A majority and a minority report on platform was presented, the former differing but little from the one adopted by the former convention being adopted. Upon this action being taken, Mr. Clark, the president, vacated his chair and left the convention in disgust. The minority report presented and read by Mr. Coolbargh never got into the hands of the secretary of the convention, or into its published proceedings, when he left the convention with Mr. Clark followed by the whole Dubuque and Des Moines counties' delegations.

Judge Nourse, writing to Gov. K. says: "The convention was in session till after midnight. There was a fierce quarrel between the Mahoney men and the Union portion of the convention * * * The fight over the platform was rich, rare and racy. A great many truths were told by the loyal men to the secession wing that controlled the convention."

On the 28th day of August, a convention of Republicans and Democrats, calling themselves the "Union Party," met in Des Moines and nominated Gen. N. B. Baker for Governor, Lauren Dewey for Lieutenant-Governor, and Reuben Noble for Supreme Judge. Gen. Baker and Mr. Noble both declined, although the latter was in sympathy with the movement and one of its prime movers. He was in hopes Gov. Kirkwood would be the nominee of the convention, for in writing to Andrew J. Stevens on the subject of the convention, he says: "If I were a member of the convention I would urge the nomination of Gov. Kirkwood for Governor * * * It is due to him that he should finish the work he has begun. I know personally that his labors have been arduous; that he has expended large sums of money upon his individual credit for the benefit of the State; that no new man could finish the work begun as well as he, for these reasons I have supported him and have seen no reason to change my mind."

So strong, however, were the political prejudices of the Democratic portion of that convention, that they rebelled against endorsing anyone who had been supported by the Republican Convention.

The Governor was urged by many of his friends to take the stump, and many pressing invitations came to him from numerous places, especially in the north part of the State, to speak there, but his answers to all these calls were that his official duties were so pressing that he had no time to make a personal canvass, and that those duties must be performed even if his personal interests suffered thereby. So anxious were his friends to get him before the people on the important and pressing questions of the day, that they determined if he could not be heard from the rostrum he should be through the press, and at the suggestion of F. W. Palmer, then editor of the *Iowa State Register*, arrangements were made for him to make a speech and have it reported in

full and published in the papers. As shorthand reporters were not as plenty then as now, not even one being obtainable, the arrangement was made that four ready writer reporters should be engaged, that number one should take down the first sentence, number two the second sentence, and so on in turn to the end, as each sentence fell from the speaker's lips, and that their reports should be put together and the speech published as uttered. An arrangement was attempted to be made for a joint discussion between Gov. K. and Judge Mason, the Democratic candidate for Governor, but the judge declined to engage in it. At a meeting in Sherman Hall in Des Moines on the evening of Sept. 4th, presided over by the Hon. T. F. Withrow, the Governor delivered his speech. As Judge Mason had declined to meet the Governor, it was proposed to substitute in his place Hon. Jas Baker of Chariton, but the audience objected, and Mr. Baker being present declined in person.

Gov. K. being introduced said:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I hope you will do me the justice to believe that I did not arrange this meeting. I had nothing to do with it. I was requested by some of my friends to say whether I would be willing to meet Judge Mason, one of my competitors, to discuss the National and State questions involved in this canvass. However small my own confidence in my own ability may be, I have never felt myself at liberty to decline any invitation of the kind, occupying the position I do, and although it might be rash in me to meet Judge Mason in this contest, I would not and did not decline. With the determination of the question whether Mr. Baker should occupy the time of Judge Mason, I had nothing to do; and as you have decided, I have nothing to do with your action.

I propose now to discuss briefly some questions, not all of those which are uppermost in the minds of the people of Iowa. When a speaker proposes to address an audience, he ought to arrange his thoughts beforehand, so that he may be able to present the subject in a discourse which, if it be indifferent, it shall be well arranged. I cannot promise you that I shall be able so to do, for until this evening I have had no time for preparation, and I hope you will pardon what I know will be a desultory speech.

I again find myself what I once thought I never again would be, a candidate for the office of Governor, and I confess I find myself in

peculiar and unpleasant circumstances. The unpleasantness of my position arises from two causes. First, the country is in a condition such as it was never in before. We have had war before, but never a civil war. We have had strife before, but never intestine strife. And many of the good people who are in favor of pressing this war thoroughly, vigorously and triumphantly to an end, believe that an error was committed in making a party nomination at this time. They think that the gentlemen who have placed me in nomination have erred. That is one thing. Another is, and I am very sorry to say it, that some of my own political household think that I am not the man; that we should have some other person. Now, I intend to address a few remarks on each of these points. I will certainly make them as brief as possible.

Did the Republican party err in nominating a Republican ticket at this time under the surroundings? What was the condition of the country in May last, when your Legislature then convened in extra session, adjourned? What was the condition of the State at that time? The great mass of the people of this State were in favor of sustaining the administration, of prosecuting vigorously, thoroughly and to a successful termination, the war inaugurated by the South. This was true of the entire body of the Republican party, and a large portion of the Democratic party. And yet it was true, and I am sorry to say it was true, that a portion of the Democratic party was *not* in favor of that course. Now, you know and I know that political nominations are a necessity in a Government like ours. Without political organization you cannot concentrate public opinion. We have always had political organizations or parties since the foundation of our Government. The common sense of the country has accepted this truth and acted upon it, and from that period until this day political organizations have been the means of giving tone to and expressing the popular will, and they always must be. They are a necessity in a Republican form of government like ours.

Here then is a political party in this State, a party that is earnest, united in favor of the prosecution of the war. Here was the only other political party divided on this question. Now, these parties act through these organizations, and when the Republican Central Committee of Iowa called together the convention, they exercised the power which was delegated to them to exercise, no more no less. They had not power to do aught more, it was their duty to do no less. They had not power to propose a union of parties. They could only call a convention to nominate candidates. Your State Central Committee of the Republican party did its duty in calling the party into general convention. Shortly after that had been done, persons who claimed to represent the Democratic party, whether truthfully or not I cannot say, called a State Democratic convention at an earlier day than that for the assem-

bling of the Republican convention. After this call had been published, certain other persons desiring, as they claimed, to give a hearty support to the prosecution of this war and the maintenance of the Union, issued a call for what they denominated a "Peoples' or Union Convention," and fixed the time for holding the same the day before, or the day after the Democratic convention had been called to assemble. They showed no desire to affiliate with the Republican convention. They showed no disposition to act in anyway with the Republican organization of the State. Now, they had their choice, to determine whether they would place their convention in a position to act with the Republican party, or with the other. They chose the other convention and attempted to act in conjunction with it. They called their convention to meet the next day after the Democratic convention, which met a week in advance of the convention of the Republican party. Both conventions were held, and no agreement could be effected between them. Why the Peoples' party made that choice, thereby placing it out of their power to act with the Republican organization, it is not for me to say. They chose to do it and did it. They went to the Democratic Mahony convention for their allies. They would not or did not attempt to affiliate with the Republican convention. I was not here at the time, but understood that consultations were had but no agreement could be effected. The Democratic or Mahony convention met, acted and adjourned on the day it was called. On the next day the Union convention met and adjourned. They could, had they been so disposed, have met with the Republican convention called for the 31st of July, when that convention was yet in the future. They let the Republican convention meet and pass by as they had a right to do, but they did not intimate to them in anyway whatever that they had any desire to affiliate with them.

In the course of events two more conventions were held in your city last week. On the one day a Union convention, and on the next a Democratic convention. If you can take their acts as indications, my friends, our Democratic and Union brethren have shown they were unwilling to act with the Republicans. Twice have they met in convention on succeeding days, and while they were thus willing to act in conjunction, they were unwilling to attempt to act with the Republican organization.

What did the Republicans do when they met in convention? Take their platform and read it. Search through it from beginning to end, and what is there in it to drive from its support any man who loves his country? There is nothing! Scrutinize it as closely as you please and you will find no partizanship there. You will find nothing there but devotion to the American flag and love for the American Union. [Applause.] The Republicans placed themselves in a position to affiliate with the patriotic portion of any party or all parties in the State,

Democrats or Union men, call them what you please. But they were silently passed by. No desire was shown to have anything to do with them; and, relying upon the justice of their cause, they threw their banner abroad, and appealed to the people to rally around it in maintenance of the Federal Union and the honor of the Federal flag.

The Republicans do not ask you, my Democratic friends, to give up any of your pre-conceived notions on the subject of slavery. They don't ask you to accept their political faith or abandon yours; but, as the predominant party in this State, ignoring for the time being all past political issues, they ask every man who is willing to rally round the flag to step forward to help them in this patriotic cause. Is it wrong in them to do this? Every Republican is a Union man. Where in all the broad land can you find one who is not? They are and have been for some years the dominant party in this State. They have placed themselves, as an organization, in a position to be consulted by any party or any men who might be willing to consult and act with them for the Union, but had completely, perhaps studiously, been ignored by all. They then, for the sake of harmony and good-will, laid aside all party issues and all party tests, and simply asked that all men of all parties who, like themselves, were devoted to the Union should step forward and act with them, not for party, but for the Union. It seems to me that more could not have been asked with fairness nor yielded with self-respect.

The other organization is divided. It is torn asunder. With the present condition of the country, whoever is not in favor of upholding the Government is against it. And, my friends, it seems to me that if we could once lay aside all dissensions on this subject, and, as a united people, rally round this administration, we could soon carry the war to a successful issue and place the country in a position it is entitled to occupy.

Now, my friends, a few words on a subject to me more delicate. As Chief Executive of the State, since the war commenced much fault has been found with me. I am a plain man, and although it may not be prudent in me as a candidate to speak in regard to these matters, yet I propose to say some things to you in a very plain way. A great many gentlemen think I have not been energetic enough; that I have not been efficient enough; that I have not pushed forward the work as vigorously as I should have done. That may be true. That I have committed errors I think is not only very possible, but very probable. It would be the height of presumption in me to assert the contrary. I think that all of our public men have committed errors. Look at it! When the President of the United States issued his proclamation for 75,000 men for three months the whole country arose and applauded the act. And yet this was a mistake. Those three months men should have been three years men. We could have had them for three years

as well as for three months. If this had been done, the country would not have had to witness the spectacle of whole regiments retiring from the service at the very time when the roar of cannon was heard at Bull's Run! Once enlisted for the service they could have been kept there, and the country would not have been fevered with excitement lest Washington should fall into the hands of Beauregard.

I talk to you under the assumption that you are honest and patriotic men, and that it is your wish to do right; but you will pardon me if I say you expect too much of your public officers. You expect them to be what you are not yourselves—perfection. You can't expect from them exemption from error. You and I can very easily see after a thing is done whether it was rightly or wrongly done. Yet had we been called on in the first instance to meet the same exigency, we would, in all probability, have committed a graver error. Now I press this thing not on my own account, because what becomes of me is of little consequence. But you have the Administration at Washington, on the support of which everything depends. Upon you and each one of you the Administration leans for support, and I say it plainly and boldly you are not standing by that Administration as you should stand by it. You may search the history of this world over, I care not where you read its pages, and you cannot find a government which has ever done, in the same length of time, a tithe of what has been done by this Administration in the last four months, taking into account the condition of affairs as it found them when it came into power. And yet pick up your newspapers, go into your hotel offices or reading rooms, go where you will, and, instead of finding encouragement for the good it has done, you find carping and denunciation.

I came recently from Washington City, and I say to you, what I think I know, that this same spirit of faultfinding, this same spirit of denunciation, is discouraging and weakening your Administration at Washington. It has to fight Jeff Davis and Beauregard on the one side and men who should rally round it on the other. I was pleased with a remark of President Lincoln which I saw attributed to him in a newspaper the other day. When urged to change his Cabinet, he said: "Go to work fighting the enemy and stop fighting your own friends." You will find the newspapers filled with, and you will hear wherever you go, attacks upon this man or that man in the army, the navy and all departments of the Government. A newspaper editor or a newspaper correspondent, perhaps withal a disappointed office seeker besides, seizes his pen and with a single dash will demolish a General in the army, a member of the Cabinet, and even the Executive of the Government himself, charging corruption to this man, imbecility to that, inefficiency everywhere; assailing the best men of the nation as remorselessly as you would set your foot upon a worm. This is wrong, and they who do it, do the country wrong. If you ex-

pect to find public officers who commit no mistakes, then you must get archangels, and not men. And I do insist upon it that instead of hunting something to find fault with, you should strengthen and uphold your public agents. Give them credit for what is right, and if you see that which appears to you to be wrong, remember that you may be mistaken as well as they, and even if they are wrong, attribute it to the natural imperfections of man.

It has been said I have not raised men fast enough. I have raised all that have been asked for, Iowa has poured forth her thousands as fast as called for by the General Government. It has been said that the Iowa volunteers have not been clothed as well and as rapidly as they should have been clothed. That is your fault, not mine. I had not the money to do it. You have it and I have not been furnished with it. The clothes worn by your First, Second and Third Regiments to-day have not been paid for! Not a dollar has been paid for them. Three thousand men, among them your sons and brothers, are wearing clothes which are yet unpaid for. Much fault was found with me because your soldiers at Keokuk did not receive their poor pittance of pay which they were to receive from the State for the period intervening between the time of their enlistment in the service of the State and their acceptance into the service of the United States. They were there without money to buy even tobacco or postage-stamps. You know as well as I that the Executive of this State had not a dollar to advance to the soldiers. After they were mustered in at Keokuk, Ezekiel Clark, Hiram Price, of Davenport, and your Speaker borrowed on their private credit the money—some \$30,000—which was required to pay them, and paid it, and the debt is unsatisfied to-day. The Executive of this State drew some \$5,000 out of the State Treasury, which he had no more right by law to take for that purpose than any one of you; but it was a case of extreme necessity. The balance we borrowed on our individual credit, and you owe it to us now. If there be a fault in this connection, on whom does it rest? I do not like to say these things, but justice to myself compels me to say them. The people of Iowa have not furnished their Executive with money for the expenditures which he was required by law to make as they should have done. The bank of this city holds my protested notes for \$6,000, and I have borrowed so much that I thought it was \$12,000 till I called at the bank to-day and inquired. I was absent from home last week and found, on my return, notices of protested paper of mine to the amount \$6,000 more, and not less than seven of those little tickets which bankers send out to give notice of notes falling due. Now, it is not agreeable to a man who has hitherto kept his commercial credit unimpaired thus to find it dishonored, and it is still more displeasing when he is cursed all over the State for not doing what he was powerless to accomplish, and it is right you should know it.

But let us pass from this. It is not agreeable to you nor to me. I only mention it because it is right you should know here that the clothes that your sons and brothers are wearing to-day are not paid for, not because I am unwilling to pay for them, but because I have not the means. It is right that you should know that the money your boys had did not come from your State Treasury, but was borrowed upon individual credit and is not yet refunded. You should at least endeavor to help furnish the means to refund this money by subscribing for State bonds. I grew pathetic in a newspaper appeal, a few days since, asking you to subscribe for State bonds. Now there is scarcely a man of you who, if life, limb or property were at stake, could not take \$100 at least of Iowa State bonds, and thus furnish the means to carry on this work and have it done right. And let me say plainly—though as a candidate I ought not to talk so to you—that, in so doing, you would be performing your duty, as well as in carping and fault-finding. Now, I am probably making a mistake. I don't know. I ought perhaps to make handsome vows, speak soft and honied words, things I cannot do; but I will tell you the truth, as I understand and believe it, and if you don't like it, you have the remedy in your own hands, you know. But it is due to you for me to mention what Iowa has already done in this war. She has sent into the field and has now in active service in Missouri, counting the Iowa First—and every man in Iowa will love to count the Iowa First [loud and long-continued applause]—*seven thousand men!* She has in camp at Keokuk 1,000 men under Col. Bussey. She has in Burlington another full regiment of cavalry under Col. Warren. She has in Iowa City a regiment of infantry, consisting of 900 men, waiting the arrival of another company of 100 men to complete the regiment, which was to have been under the command of Col. Bennett. And here let me say of Col. Bennett, he has acted the patriot as well as the soldier. He has acted the man. When he found that his appointment as Colonel would cause heartburnings and dissensions, he said to me, "Place me where you please, but have the regiment formed." [Applause.] This was what Col. Bennett did. At Davenport there is a full regiment of infantry, commanded by Col. Hoffman, and a full regiment of cavalry, whose regimental officers have not yet been appointed. We have, I hope, to-day at Dubuque a full regiment of infantry under Col. Vandever. That is what Iowa has done. It is what your State authorities have done without money to do it with; but I will not speak of that again, for I am satisfied you would rather hear of something else.

And now what more should I talk to you about. I will not talk about myself any longer. Let us look for a moment at the cause of this unholy Rebellion! Why is it that many a mother's eye is wet with tears to-night for the brave ones who have fallen on the battlefield? Why is it? Why is it that Iowa is pouring forth her sons by

thousands to engage in this contest? Why have our brave men been shot down in Missouri? Why do we mourn the loss of men by death at Springfield? Why is it that the battle at Manassas has brought sorrow and affliction to thousands of homes in the East? I ask these questions because where the responsibility for all this rests there rests a burden which bends men to the earth. Why is it that the men of the North meet the men of Virginia, Missouri and the South to desolate each other's fields and burn each other's houses? It is not in nature that we should desire to kill each other. We are brethren of the United States of America. Why, then, this strife? Why is it? It is just because an attempt is made to strike down our government, the best the world ever saw. That is why. What is the meaning of a republican form of government? It means this: that the people of a country have sense, intelligence and honor and energy enough to govern the country. You good people of Des Moines manage Des Moines' affairs. It does not go upon the theory that the people may not sometimes make mistakes, but it does go upon the theory that men have the intelligence to see those mistakes and correct them. That is the theory of a republican system of government.

Now, after a battle of four long years, the Republican party came into power last fall, or rather were elected last fall and came into power on the 4th of March last. Our Southern friends rebelled at that election. They said mistakes and wrongs had been committed. Very well. What was their bounden duty? It was to appeal to the intelligence and honesty of the people. Nearly all the South, and some of our Northern friends, said a mistake had been committed, and said they would not trust to the good faith, intelligence and honesty of the people to correct it, but would right their wrongs by arms. This is what our Southern brethren have done. They have said they will not submit. If they have such rights as these, then a republican form of government is not a government, because such attributes crush out its vitality. Suppose we Republicans, four years ago, had said, "We will not submit to be ruled by a President constitutionally elected." Suppose when Buchanan was elected in 1856 the minority had said, "We will not trust a majority of the people to correct mistakes, but we will resort to arms." Then we would have had our Rebellion four years ago instead of now. Establish this precedent and you may look for a rebellion every four years. The defeated party would always appeal to arms for what they claimed they should have. The United States would thus be converted into another Mexico on a larger scale. Even those who have placed themselves on the Mahony platform condemn the Administration, because they say it is imbecile and not strong and energetic enough. The Administration has done its duty. It has dealt with those in rebellion as an indulgent parent would deal with a froward child. It has forbore to strike. It has dealt with those men

mildly, leniently, generously. It sought to conciliate them, but failed. The time has come, and I am glad to see it, when a different policy is to be pursued. This policy is forshadowed in the late proclamation of Gen. Fremont, in Missouri. [Tremendous applause.] The late Administration had the power to put down this most wicked Rebellion in its beginning by a single effective blow, but it let the opportunity pass. The present Administration has come to a point where it is determined to put down this rebellion by a strong hand. It has sought by every means in the world to bring the rebels back to their duty. I think it has done right. It was bound to exhaust every honorable means of conciliation before it resorted to extreme measures. I do think, viewing the subject from my standpoint, there never was a more causeless and wicked rebellion. This government has given the South prosperity, security, peace. It did not inflict a blow till they became so arrogant and overbearing that the war became a necessity for national existence. They had grown as no people ever had before, cursed with such institutions as they have. It has protected them, supported them, nourished them. And because a majority have exercised their constitutional right and duty to control and regulate national affairs, they have declared that if they could not rule they would ruin.

And now, my friends, what is our duty? WE MUST PUT DOWN REBELLION. Some gentlemen say "Peace." They say, "You cannot subdue and subjugate the South and have them live peaceably with you." They say, "The South are determined to go, and why not let them go in peace?" But when you yield that much, you sign the death warrant of your government! If the Southern States may secede to-day, the Northwestern States may to-morrow. If the South may rebel this year, then New England may next. Establish the doctrine of secession any where, you leave no life, no vitality, in your whole system of government. It sinks at once from the rank of nations, becomes what Mexico is, a hissing and a byword, and leaves you no security for life, liberty or property. It cannot be in the nature of things. There are but two ways. You must either put the rebels down or the rebels will put you down. You cannot compromise with them. You cannot establish peace with them. You cannot conciliate them. Will you have the mouth of the Mississippi river closed by Louisiana? Will you allow the inhabitants of the Lower Mississippi to toll the produce of the Upper Mississippi? You will not do it. You cannot do it. Your fathers risked a war to acquire that river, and their sons will fight to maintain it. [Deafening applause.] A thousand plans may be suggested for a peaceful solution of this question, and yet you must reject them all. Recognize the Southern Confederacy and you cannot keep peace with them five years. There are some strange characteristics in this contest. We are in the habit of attrib-

uting to our Southern friends honor, chivalry, highmindedness; and they attribute to us avarice, cowardice, venality. And yet, underlying all this, there are shown to be contrary attributes in each. What is the theory of this rebellion? What underlies it? The very grossest material: the theory that no man has any higher motive to action than the aggrandizement of self. The South said "Cotton is King!" They said if war is inaugurated the pockets of the North would suffer. They said you would lose your markets for manufactured and agricultural products; that your factories would be closed in the East; that the grain would rot in your store houses in the West, and that you would thus be brought to terms. All this showed what they believed to be the governing principle in the North. How has this been met? How have the people of the North met this question when it was forced upon them? When your trade was brought low, your marts closed and your shipping lying idle in your harbor, how was this question met? How did you respond to the call of the President to rally round the National flag? The world has never seen a spectacle such as has been exhibited by the people of the North in the support of this government since the commencement of this war.

It is shown to be untrue that cotton is king. Pennsylvania might as well claim that coal is king. New York might as well claim that commerce is king. The great Northwest might equally claim that corn is king. But all these claims are untrue, and it brings us back again to the Bible truth that there is but one king, the Everlasting God, and him only should we serve. [Applause]. We have faith in Him, and it is around this faith that our sentiments of right, justice and truth will forever cluster. Before that faith southern chivalry will go down. There is something in the north higher than materialism. No opposition here or elsewhere can put it down. Those who have taken up arms against federal authority will not and cannot succeed in putting it down. And I tell you, my friends, no convention can be got up which can smother that principle, and the men who seek to crush it out will be ground to powder before it. [Uproarious and long continued applause]. You may call conventions for the purpose of obstructing the path of this government, but they will fail, let them marshall their forces under the name of Democracy or whatever they will. I know the force of that organization. I know as well as any other man the power of the Democratic party, but I tell those men who attempt to array the masses of the people against the Administration, State or National, that is endeavoring to prosecute the war, that they cannot succeed. I do not care whether they attempt to do so by the publication of insidious falsehoods, in incendiary sheets, by political conventions, by seeking to discredit the bonds of the State, by the cry that they are unconstitutional or otherwise. [Cheers and cries of good].

Now, my friends, I told you when I commenced I had made no preparation for an elaborate speech. I have had no order in what I have said; but I have tried to bring before you these few ideas. In the first place, that although the Republican administration which came into power on the fourth of March last, surrounded by unusual difficulties, found all the offices of the government filled by members of the opposition party; it has shown a degree of liberality toward its opponents that could have scarcely been looked for. It is true it might have been well if no purely partisan ticket had been nominated at this time. It might have been well if all political organizations for the time being had been forgotten; but our Union friends showed a studied desire to avoid affiliation with the dominant party. At the same time our Democratic friends have shown a studied desire to ignore and have nothing to do with the Republican party. The gentlemen who control the Union movement have never placed themselves *en rapport* with the Republican party, but have shown a settled, deliberate and wilful purpose to co-operate rather with the Democratic party of the State. They did not fix the day for holding their convention near to the day the Republicans had selected for holding theirs. They have not coquetted with us in anyway. It may not have been their bounden duty to do so. I don't know—it may be so. But this I do know, they have asked no less of the Republican party than to abandon their organization; and knowing the purpose of political human nature, I know they did not expect us to do it when they asked it. When the Republicans met in convention they carefully excluded from their platform everything that could offend a Douglass Democrat, a "Union" man, or even a Mahoney Democrat and when we asked the Union men to come with us, we being organized and having strength, they said "no." They ask us to abandon our organization in which is strength, and go over to them who have no organization, and trust to Providence and the chapter of accidents for the result. [Laughter]. There is I am sorry to say it, there is an organized party that does not look this question of rebellion fairly in the face. Their conduct, not so intended perhaps, is doing more to strengthen Jeff Davis and his forces than if the same number of men comprising this party should go down and join their army with arms in their hands. There is an organization in this State to-day that will go to the polls on the 8th day of October, and which if it elects its candidates, will strengthen the hands of the traitors by proclaiming that there is a divided north! When that day comes you will be astonished at the strength of that party. And what do the People's party propose to do? They propose to divide the Union strength of this State into two parties, and thereby run the risk of placing the control of the State in the hands of men who apologized for and even sympathized with treason. That is what they ask us to do. They do not intend

by the resolutions passed a few days since to give aid to the disunion party in this State; but by their action they afford to the disunion party their only possible chance of success, by dividing the strength of the Union vote of the State between the two tickets. That's clear. I do not presume they intend that, but if there is any means by which this thing can be done it can only be done in that way. Mr. Mason can only be elected by the division of the Union party. Our Union friends ask of us who have a party which has strength, to go over to them who have I think but little strength. They ask of us, who for several years have carried the election of our candidates by unequivocal majorities, to divide our strength, abandon our position, leave our entrenchments and fortifications, and expose ourselves and them to attacks in front and rear, surrounded by an enemy and have the whole camp captured!

I would like to speak to you further of personal matters, but I will not do it because you cannot divest yourself of the belief that I am talking for myself. I am solicitous that the Union cause in this State and nation should be successful. I ask you to bring to this subject the same calm, sound sense that you do to your own private affairs, and such as you usually do when you wish to accomplish an individual end.

There is one subject, my friends, on which I wish to make a few remarks before I close, and that is with reference to affairs in Washington City and your duty to the administration there. You Douglass men may think there is not sufficient energy manifested in the prosecution of the war. Very well, I may think so. You may think Simon Cameron, the Secretary of War, a bad man. I may think so too, but I think him a badly abused man. You may think he does wrong, but you cannot rely on all you hear. I was recently in Washington City and had to pass three days in the War Department, and I found the rooms of that department full every day. Nine-tenths of the men who were there, were there for place and for plunder and they were not all Republicans either by a great deal. [Laughter]. They consumed the time of the department that should have been given to other matters. They go there and force themselves on public men; and when they go away as thousands of them do disappointed, they brand the man as corrupt and imbecile who disappoints them. They get some scribbler to write something to the newspapers charging incompetency and venality on the officers of the government. That is the way a great deal of that sort of thing is done. Hundreds and thousands of newspaper slanders are got up by men who have been disappointed in getting contracts. But for the swarms of these men in Washington, crowding all the avenues of the Capital, the War Department would be able to devote its energies more effectively to its legitimate duties. As I told you before, I was in the hall of that department before I

could find the men whom I wanted to see. Why they even got to know I was Governor of Iowa, and they never forgot me! The reason this was so, probably because I looked so much unlike other Governors. [Great laughter]. But even with the advantage of my official position and a knowledge by the department of the pressing nature of my business, I was unable for some time to reach the presence of the Secretary of War. I do not believe that Mr. Cameron is open to the charges preferred against him. I do not believe a word of them. I do think he allows too much of his time to be given to his friends, and to be imposed upon by them, but that he is a corrupt man I do not believe.

Let me say to my Democratic friends that in my judgment they have nothing to complain of relative to the manner in which appointments have been disposed of by the War Department. Have you been ignored? Have you been treated as outsiders in this contest? Look at high military names that have been brought before the country since the commencement of this war! Are they those of Republicans merely? Look at appointments which, as executive of the State, I myself have made! Have I ignored you my Democratic friends? Douglass Democrats, aye Breckenridge Democrats, have been permitted to divide with Republicans the best military appointments of the State! Look at every loyal State in this Union and you will find a spirit of liberality manifested by Republicans in the dispensation of offices and patronage, such as you *never* showed to your opponents when you were in power. Go back to the history of the Mexican war. Tell me the name of a single Whig who was placed in high command by President Polk. General Scott was in command before the commencement of the war. The same was true of General Taylor. Tell me, if you please, what Whigs were ever placed in high military command by President Pierce? You cannot do it. Your party never practiced this kind of liberality to your foes. I know it because I was once of you and among you [Laughter and Applause]. The Democratic party always made it a principle to confer the spoils of office on its friends. As partisans you were wise. You were never known to extend rewards to your enemies. You always held these in reserve for your friends. The consequence was that you rallied a Spartan band around you, who with the spoils of victory ever before them, labored with the efficiency with which a compact party always labors. The Republican party has not displayed that kind of wisdom. *They* have rewarded their enemies. Go into every State in which the Republicans are the dominant party, you will find that that party, eschewing the worldly wisdom displayed so long and so successfully by the Democrats, and looking rather to the good of the whole country, lavishing the highest offices upon Democrats as well as Republicans. It has been made a subject of complaint against me in Washington as well as here, that I have given too many places to members of the Democratic party

that I have filled important offices with political opponents. What reason then have you for opposition to the Republican party? You know that it is devoted faithfully and zealously to the support of the National administration, to the prosecution of the war and the perpetuation of the Union. Your Democratic party is in no essential respect a Union party, and you know it. Why then should we incur the hazard of throwing the State administration of Iowa into the hands of men whose party platform, and whose affiliations show that they have little sympathy with the Union cause.

My friends, the proudest day of my life was during my recent trip to Washington city. I called to see the Adjutant-General, Mr. Thomas, to ask a favor of him for the benefit of the Iowa volunteers. He had been in military service nearly all his life, and of course had all the regard for volunteers which officers of the regular army generally entertain. This was before the battle of Wilson's Creek, or at least before we had received news of the result. I asked of him an order to have the companies composing the First Regiment of Iowa Volunteers paid off in the several counties of their residence. They had not received any money due them from the United States since they left Iowa. I knew the boys had had a hard campaign, and I was anxious they should have the full comfort of their earnings at home. He told me that the first thing I would know would be that our Iowa volunteers in Missouri would leave Gen. Lyon in the lurch, as certain Pennsylvania and New York volunteers left McDowell at Manassas. I told him the Iowa boys would not do it, that they would do their duty, if not, that not a lady would kiss them on their return to this State [Laughter]. The Adjutant-General declined to issue the order as I requested, and referred me to his assistant. The latter issued it just as I wanted it. In the meantime the news of the battle of Wilson's Creek, and of the gallant manner in which the First Iowa Regiment conducted themselves after their term of enlistment had expired, reached Washington. I then took occasion to walk over to the War Department, and every man who saw me had to shake hands with me, and placing my hat at an angle of forty-five degrees, I stalked through the building as though I owned it—and they let me [Tremendous Cheers]. I tell you my friends that was a proud day for Iowa in Washington. It was glory enough for any man there, to hail from this State. And all of this was because our brave boys down at Wilson's Creek did their duty [Applause]. They gave us a name such as we never had before. Go where you will through the length and breadth of the land, and you hear nothing but praises of their noble conduct. I went to Philadelphia from Washington, and by mistake got into the Continental Hotel—the largest one there. At first nobody knew me, nobody paid any attention to me, but when they heard I was from Iowa, I could have had the whole house to myself if I had wanted it [Laughter and Cheers].

Now, my friends, I have but little more to say. The eastern counties of this State had an advantage in raising men under the first call for volunteers. The men composing the First Iowa Regiment were all from the eastern part of the State, and one company from the town in which I live was among them. The Iowa City company went into the battle of Wilson's Creek with sixty-four men, and sixteen of the number came out bearing marks of the conflict upon them. I have talked with members of that regiment, and have heard their recital of the hardships, sufferings and perils they endured, and I wish the men assembled in the late Democratic convention in your city, who refused, as I am informed, to pass certain resolutions approving the conduct of those brave men, could hear what I have heard, if they could hear it they would hide their heads in shame.

VOICE—They did pass the resolutions afterward, Governor.

GOV. KIRKWOOD—I am sorry they had to think twice and then wait more than a month before they could adopt them [Applause]. I have not seen a report of the proceedings of that convention, but was informed that such was its action.

Now, so far as I am concerned, it is a matter of very little consequence whether I shall be re-elected to the office of Governor or not. Don't give a thought to me personally. I was not anxious that my name should go before the Republican convention. I wish I could have declined without dishonor. But my friends have placed me in nomination, and I am prepared to abide the result. This Government must be sustained, and the question is how is it best to be done? Let no personal considerations stand between you and the discharge of your duty. Keep fixed in your mind this idea that the value of our National Government is above all computation; that the Stars and Stripes *must be sustained*; and that if, in your judgment, my election as your State executive would not contribute something to these results, no man would be better satisfied with your judgment than myself, although politically I never should be heard of again [Loud Applause]"

CHAPTER IX.

Proclamation—More Troops Called For—Makes a Speech at Davenport—Letter to W. C. Sipple—Appoints Col. H. C. Nutt One of His Aids—Bad State of Affairs on the Missouri Border—Troops Raised for State Service—Col. Moreledge—He Enters Missouri with His Regiment—Col. G. M. Dodge sent to the Border with the Fourth Iowa—Col. John Edwards on the Border—He Reports to the Governor—Governor Appoints Judge Hubbard One of His Aids—Instructions to Him—Writes Col's Bussey, Baldwin, Edwards and Hubbard—Indian Massacre in Minnesota—Gov. K. Telegraphs Sec'y Stanton—Wants Troops and Arms—Commission to Col. S. R. Ingham—Posts Established—Companies Raised—Stockades and Block Houses Built.

On the 10th of September, the Governor issued the following

PROCLAMATION.

FELLOW CITIZENS OF IOWA:—More soldiers are required for the war. I therefore appeal to your patriotism to complete at once the quota demanded of our State. Six regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, composed of your friends, your neighbors and your relatives, are now in the field. Three more regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, composed of the same precious materials, are now in camp nearly organized, and eager to join their brothers in arms who have preceded them, and still four more regiments are required. Will you permit these patriots who have gone forth animated with the spirit of their cause, to remain unsupported. and to fight alone the battles that are imminent? Remember that they will not fight for themselves alone; it is your cause as well as theirs in which they are engaged. It is the cause of the Government, of home, of country, of freedom, of humanity, of God himself. It is in this righteous cause that I call upon the manhood and patriotism of the State for a cordial and hearty response.

The gallant achievements of our noble Iowa First, have bestowed upon our State an imperishable renown. Wherever fortitude is appreciated, and valor recognized as the attributes of a brave and great-hearted people, the Iowa volunteer is greeted with pride and applause. Shall it be said that you were unworthy the great deeds which were done in your behalf by that regiment of heroes, that you were laggard in the noble work which they so well begun? Shall the fair fame of

the State which they have raised to the highest point of greatness, lose its luster through your backwardness to the call of your country, made in the holiest cause that has ever engaged the efforts of a people? With you rests the responsibility. Men alone are wanted. Arms, equipments, liberal pay, the applause and gratitude of a Nation await the volunteers. I cannot believe you will prove insufficient for the occasion when you know your country's need. Two regiments of those yet needed; are required for the defense of our own borders against the incursion of predatory tribes of Indians. While our loyal armies have been engaged with civilized traitors in a deadly struggle for the supremacy of the Government, the maintenance of the Constitution, the enforcement of the laws, and the protection of innocent and defenseless citizens, our own borders have become exposed to the ravages of savages. Some of the lawless tribes are now in league with the leaders of the rebellion in Arkansas and Missouri. Others have been incited by them to seize this opportunity to prey upon the defenseless inhabitants of our State. Some of our sparsely settled counties imperatively demand protection, and they must have it.

Four regiments in addition to those now organizing are needed. They must be had speedily. I hope for the good name of our State they will be furnished without resort to any other mode than that heretofore so successfully adopted. Let those who cannot volunteer lend encouragement and assistance to those who can. Let everyone feel that there is no more important work to be done until these regiments are filled.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

On the evening of the second of October at Davenport, the Governor made the second one of the only two speeches made by him in the canvass, and though not reported it was probably in some respects a repetition of the one made at Des Moines. One of the editors of the *Davenport Gazette* who heard it, and who was afterwards one of his staff officers, in writing of it the next day, concluded his article with, "One thing we may say and with confidence, *it is unanswerable*. Altogether the meeting was a triumph for the Governor and his policy, which the audience frequently demonstrated by long continued and enthusiastic applause."

N. B. Baker, the Governor's able Adjutant General, who had been nominated for and declined the office of Governor on the Union ticket, followed in defense of the Governor, exposing some of the meanness resorted to by some to defeat

him, expressing his indignation and contempt of them and their actions. Hiram Price and Ben Rector, of the Second Cavalry, followed in eloquent and powerful arguments in favor of the Republican State ticket.

So onerous were the duties devolving upon the Governor, and so threatening were the disturbances on our southern border by rebel guerrillas and bushwhackers, and on the northwest from the raids of hostile Indians, that in addition to the appointment of Hon. Caleb Baldwin of Council Bluffs, Col. John Edwards of Chariton, and A. W. Hubbard of Sioux City, were clothed by him with all the authority vested in himself, to do all that was necessary in their respective localities for the preservation of peace and the protection of the lives and property of the citizens of the State.

Fremont was the county in which most trouble was had with Missouri rebels and home traitors. W. C. Sipple, the president of the Board of Supervisors of this county, was supposed to be in sympathy with the rebels across the line, and traitors at home, and was desirous of getting control of the troops raised in his county for home protection, or having that control in the hands of some one allied with him in his treasonable purposes. A communication was sent from the Board of Supervisors, over which he presided, charging all wrongs done and outrages committed there to the "Jay-hawkers," a nickname given to ardent Union men.

In reply the Governor writes:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA, }
January 18, 1862. }

*W. C. Sipple, Esq., President Board of Supervisors,
Sidney, Fremont County, Iowa:*

SIR:—I have just received a communication from the Board over which you preside, touching the present unfortunate state of affairs in your county. I have already sent to your county my aid, Lieut.-Col. H. C. Nutt, to investigate the situation of affairs and to take such steps as may be necessary to preserve the public peace. The condition of affairs on the southern border of your county is very unfortunate, and I intend to use all the means in my power to afford protection to our

citizens. It has been suggested to me that the public peace has been jeopardized by these facts:

1st—That rebels and sympathizers from Missouri, who have made themselves peculiarly obnoxious to Union men there, by their outrageous conduct, have fled to this State and are now in your county with their property to avoid vengeance from those whom they formerly outraged.

2nd—That the same class of persons in Missouri, who cannot leave are sending their property into your county for protection from confiscation.

3rd—That these men have sympathizers in your county who harbor, these men and conceal their property.

4th—That the Union men in Missouri who have suffered from the outrages of these persons are thus tempted to invade our State for the purpose of punishing them. I have instructed Col. Nutt to investigate these alleged facts and report to me fully thereon. Should I find the allegations to be correct, I shall take measures to relieve your people from this difficulty. Whilst I intend to protect our people from outrage and invasion, I also intend that our State shall not be exposed to danger of both by becoming an asylum for rebels and their property. I trust I shall have your assistance in effecting this object, and that you will impress upon your citizens the impolicy of exposing themselves to the dangers they bring upon themselves and their neighbors, by harboring either rebels or their property.

The communication stated that Fred Rector, Esq., late acting County Judge of your county, had been authorized to organize the militia of your county, and "that when he had succeeded in organizing a sufficient force to protect the county he was, without any reason, deprived of his authority."

This is a grave error. The reason that Judge Rector's authority was annulled was, that I was credibly informed that his loyalty to our government was doubted; that he was alleged to be of a class somewhat numerous in your county, whose sympathies are much stronger for rebels than Union men. No man whose position is not above suspicion on this point can receive any authority from me, if I know his position, or can retain it a moment longer than the knowledge reaches me, if I have the power to annul it. Col. Hedges of your county has been authorized to organize your militia, and I do not see any good reason why his authority should be revoked and given to Judge Hodges.

Col. Hedges is represented to me as an efficient man, and his loyalty is undoubted. The State arms now in your county are in the hands of good and loyal men, and I do not see the necessity of placing them elsewhere. If there should be any further disturbance of the peace of your county, the men who now have the arms can use them as well as others.

Col. Nutt will, on request, exhibit his instructions. Any aid you can render him will no doubt be thankfully received.

Very respectfully, SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

In localities along the southern border where Union men in Missouri were in the minority, they were often driven from their homes and they took refuge in Iowa to save themselves from persecution and destruction at the hands of the rebels, but in retaliation, in communities where Union men were the strongest, a portion calling themselves or being called by others "Jayhawkers," retaliated on the rebels when the latter for their own safety betook themselves and took with them their live stock and other property to secure places in Iowa, where they were shielded from harm by their Copperhead sympathizers and friends. This state of affairs was producing a civil war within our own limits. To meet these difficulties a military district was formed, to be known as the "Western Division of Iowa Volunteer Militia," and State troops were raised for service in this territory, and if necessary when called there for service in the adjoining part of Missouri. The Governor never sent these troops across the border, but permitted them to go when called there, saying he would protect them in all they did while in Iowa, but they must do that for themselves when they got across the line, as he had no authority to send them there. John R. Moreledge raised a regiment for service here, and on the fifth of that month, at the hour of midnight, he was called upon by the Union men of Nodaway county, Missouri, to come to their rescue, as the rebels were about to overpower them and drive them from their homes. This call was responded to, and 250 men marched at daylight the next morning thirty-three miles, remaining three days and taking sixty prisoners, when Col. Tuttle with a portion of the second Iowa, a regiment raised for United States service in the south, arrived upon the ground, when Col. Moreledge with his command returned home.

Two more expeditions were made into Missouri by Col. Moreledge's regiment, one on the 10th of July, and the other on the 28th of August. On these expeditions they were joined by Col. Cranor of the Missouri militia, with his regiment, going at one time as far as St. Joseph, accumulating troops on their way till they numbered 3,000. They drove the rebels, far outnumbering them, through the town, where the latter had robbed the Union men and Union stores of such things as they wanted to the amount of \$40,000.

Col. G. M. Dodge, who was in command of the Fourth Iowa at Council Bluffs, under instructions from Judge Baldwin, broke camp on the 23d of July and went down to assist in quelling the disturbances on the border. As a compromise had been entered into by the Unionists and Secessionists to suspend hostilities, he returned after going forty miles east of Clarinda and within thirteen miles of the Missouri line.

On his return, among other things, he reports:

"There is no doubt but that great excitement exists on both sides of the line. My scout which I sent out canvassed pretty thoroughly all the counties in northwest Missouri, and found that the rebels of that section were fearing an invasion from Iowa equally as much as the people of southern Iowa were from Missouri. * * * Gentry and Nodaway counties are now nearly vacated, crops are neglected and farms for miles deserted."

Col. John Edwards, reporting on the 28th of July, says:

"At least 1,500 citizens of Iowa left their harvest fields and families and rushed into Missouri to the relief of the Union men. These citizens were armed in every conceivable way, without officers, system or drill. Had the rebels displayed sufficient nerve and skill they might have killed or captured them all; or had a general engagement taken place, our citizens, without officers, system or drill, might have slaughtered each other. The loyal men of Missouri subsisted our people without charge, and did all they could to make them comfortable while they were there, often spending their last dollar for that purpose. On account of the excitement and constant alarm along the border, our citizens lost much valuable time by constantly hurrying to arms; therefore a vast amount of grain was lost in the fields unharvested."

In the fall of 1862 four battallions were raised for the defense of the Southern border, to be known as the "Southern Border Brigade." Two of these battallions had two companies each, and the other two three each. The disturbances in Fremont county continuing and increasing, collisions between parties of Union men and Secessionists, often with fatal results, and calls from leading citizens for relief being urgent, in January, 1862, Lieut.-Col. H. C. Nutt was commissioned by the Governor to go into that county and learn all the facts in the case, which he did. The Lieutenant-Colonel, after reciting all the facts in the case as learned by him, concludes with:

"I think immediate danger of trouble has passed, but I still think there should be some Federal troops sent there, more to arrest Secessionists and Secession property, that have made Iowa an asylum, than to protect us from invasion; but the officer placed in command should be *number one in every respect*. A few arrests of men and property would not only end their frequent occurrence, but forever end the difficulty."

The history of our country does not record an instance in which the Governor of a State had so much labor imposed upon him at one time, and so little to do it with, as was saddled upon Governor Kirkwood during the first two years of the Civil War, and he had to call to his assistance all the help within his reach. Writing to Senator Grimes to have him do some business for the State with the War Department, not in the line of a Senator's duty, he writes:

"I know I am boring you, but I have been bored so much myself I have no bowels of compassion for any one else."

He had upon his hands all at one time the burden of *three* wars: One with the Missouri Secessionists and Iowa Copperheads on the southern border; one with the murderous, copper-skinned Indians in the northwest, and the third raising and sending forward the State's quota of troops for the War of the Rebellion; and all of these required prompt, decisive, persevering, intelligent action, performed with

sleepless energy and activity. It required more labor than one man, though he might be a calm, clear-sighted, able, energetic statesman, full of executive ability could accomplish without the best of help.

To meet, in part, this difficulty in the northwest, on the 12th of June the Governor writes Hon. A. W. Hubbard, of Sioux City:

"From information received from yourself and others, there is reasonable ground to apprehend difficulties in your Judicial District.

"The great distance from the exposed points to my residence, and the consequent delay in communicating with me, together with the probable necessity for prompt action, renders it, in my judgment, desirable that I give a large discretionary power to some person, resident in the exposed region, to act for me in case of emergency, and your well-known character for prudence, firmness, intelligence and integrity have indicated you as the proper person. I earnestly hope you may feel at liberty to accept the position for which this letter will be your authority.

"If, upon careful examination of the facts, you deem it advisable so to do, you can place in quarters for discipline and drill such numbers of men in your city as, in your judgment, may be best and for such time as you may think proper.

"I would suggest on this point that the regular drill of the soldiers may not be essential to the effective service of men engaged in scouting and Indian fighting further than is necessary to ensure a prompt obedience to orders.

"You will, when in your judgment necessary for the protection of your people, order the men, or such part of them as you deem necessary, to pursue and capture any hostile bands of Indians, or to do such other service as your judgment may satisfy you is necessary for the safety of your people.

"In short, I clothe you with all my power in this particular, agreeing to adopt as my own such action as you may take in the premises. Permit me to suggest the exercise of both caution and firmness. Under excitement you may be urged to adopt measures that cool reflection will show to be unnecessary; but be careful not to fail in doing whatever may be necessary, in your best judgment, for your defense. In a word, I rely upon your calm, cool, deliberate judgment, and will abide by the exercise of it.

"I write this because the money and means at my command are quite limited, and I desire to avoid the slightest unnecessary expense, while doing promptly and fully all the public interest may demand. You may feel some delicacy in assuming this responsibility, fearing

that in some particulars your action may not meet my approval. On that head, I have this to say: Although it is quite possible that were I on the ground, your judgment and mine might differ as to the proper action on some particular question, as the minds of men seeking the same result will frequently differ as to the means of obtaining it, yet I am prepared to adopt and stand by whatever you may do."

On the following day he wrote as follows:

"The Commissioners have determined that but \$400,000 of State bonds shall be issued. This, I am sorry to say, is \$100,000 less than I deem absolutely necessary, and places me in a very embarrassing situation. Therefore, you will not contract any indebtedness on the part of the State, or incur any expense, unless, in your judgment, the same shall be absolutely and imperiously required for the protection of the lives and the property of your people, and for that you will have to await a further sale of bonds."

The organization of squads and minute men for home protection was commenced early in May along the whole western and northwestern border, and it was kept up till well towards the close of the following autumn, and resulted in the establishment of a line of military posts extending from Sioux City to Spirit Lake.

On the 1st of August the Governor writes to Cols. Bussey, Edwards, Baldwin and Hubbard, who were his aids, and who had duties to perform in defense of the southern and western borders:

"I am compelled to be absent some two weeks at Washington City, looking after the clothing and equipments of the new regiments raised, and being raised, in this State for the United States Service; and also to procure, if possible, a further supply of arms for the use of the State. In the meantime, you must exercise your discretion as to the means necessary for the safety of the frontier under your care. The first object—and one that must be attained at all hazards and at any sacrifice—is to secure the lives and property of our people. You have my full authority to adopt such measures as you may deem essential to this end.

"Report promptly to the Adjutant-General whatever you may find it necessary to do. If I succeed in procuring arms, I hope to place the border in a more efficient state of defense."

The Indians under Inkpaduta had never been punished for the massacre they committed on the defenseless inhabi-

tants in the vicinity of Spirit Lake, in the spring of 1857, and they and other Indians were in the habit of stealing horses, killing the cattle of the settlers, and committing other outrages; growing more and more bold and daring in their inroads, so much so that on the 15th of June, 1861, a band of eight or ten were in the Little Sioux Valley stealing horses and within three miles of Sioux City; Thomas Roberts and Henry Cordua, a couple of members of the Frontier Guards, were murdered by them while plowing potatoes in the field.

So great was the excitement that a company of minute men from Mills county marched to the scene of difficulty, but as the Indians were not in force and had fled they returned home.

In the month of September Col. Hubbard got authority from the War Department to raise a company of cavalry for frontier defense, and they were mustered into service for that purpose about the middle of November.

The people along our western and northern border seemed to have a presentiment that in the bosom of the near future was hidden an immense bomb, labeled "Indian Depredations," that would soon burst upon them, and as already 20,000 of the flower of our sturdy yeomanry had been enlisted and sent from among us to fight rebels in the south, we were not in a good condition to meet the explosion of such a bomb. The little preparation we had made for the defense of our frontier, known as it was to the Indians, undoubtedly prevented its descent in our midst, and our sister State upon the north became the doomed object.

About the middle of August, 1862, the work of devastation and destruction in Minnesota began, and within a few weeks over 1,000 men, women and children were massacred, and 5,000 were driven from their homes. Houses were pillaged and burned, stock driven off and killed, fields devastated, and women and children to the number of 250 captured and carried into captivity.

Of the Indians and half breeds engaged in this massacre 425 were afterwards arrested and tried for their crimes by court martial; 321 were found guilty and 303 condemned to death. The President ordered thirty-nine of these to be hung and the remainder remanded to prison. Some of them were kept in jail at Davenport for some time, but they were finally released and turned loose on the west side of the Missouri river.

It is supposed by some that the Indian outrages committed in succeeding years were instigated by these Indians thus turned loose, in revenge for their punishment.

Mr. C. E. Flandrau, in writing of this Indian war says:

'In the numbers of Indians engaged, together with their superior fighting qualities, their armament, and the country occupied by them, it ranks among the most important of the Indian wars fought since the settlement of the country on the Atlantic coast, but when viewed in the numbers of settlers and others massacred, the amount of property destroyed, and the horrible atrocities committed by the savages, it far surpasses them all.'

The citizens of Iowa escaped all this, in consequence of the vigilance, the alertness and pursuit by our Frontier Rangers of the small bands of roving Indians that were committing these depredations on our border the year before, for at that time they learned that we were prepared to, and would give them a warm reception if they attacked us.

Five hundred Iowa cavalry were afterward sent into Minnesota from Iowa to pursue and help subdue these Indians.

As early as March, 1860, so fearful of Indian raids were the settlers in the northwestern part of the State, that a law was passed at that time providing for the enrollment of a company of minute men to act as a military police force to watch the Indians along the border.

As soon as news was received of the descent of the Indians upon the peaceful citizens of Minnesota, and the extent of their depredations, a fear that amounted to an alarm-

ing consternation, seized the whole people of the northwest part of Iowa, lest they should be subject to a like catastrophe from the same source.

To learn the true state of affairs with reference to the Indians, Geo. L. Davenport was sent by the Governor into Minnesota, and he had a conference with Gov. Ramsey of that State, who furnished him with all the facts in his possession, which corroborated all that had been reported as to the massacre of the population, the capture and carrying into captivity the women and children, and the plunder and pillage done by the Indians.

Gov. Ramsey stated that he would soon have 4,000 troops, 1,000 of which would be cavalry for the protection of the Minnesota frontier, and that for 200 miles on a line extending north from Spirit Lake, in Iowa, he would erect stockade forts which would be garrisoned with fifty men each, and they would serve as a refuge for the citizens in case of an attack.

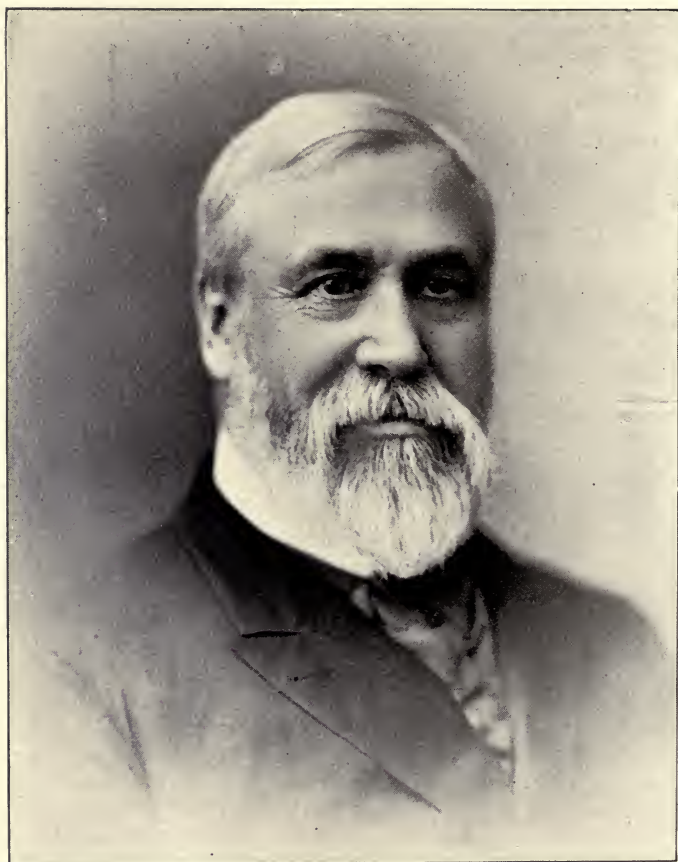
This was reported to Gov. Kirkwood on the 17th of September, and Mr. Davenport adds:

"I am much alarmed in regard to the safety of the settlements on the northwestern border of our State. I think they are in imminent danger of an attack at any moment, and will be in constant alarm and danger during the coming winter, as the Indians are driven back from the different parts of Minnesota towards the Missouri slope, and will make inroads upon our settlements for supplies of food and plunder.

"They are much exposed to attacks from the Sioux passing from the Missouri river to Minnesota. Among the Chippewa tribe great dissatisfaction exists."

On the 8th of September the following telegram was sent:

Hon. Edward M. Stanton, Secretary of War, Washington City:—I have reliable information that the Yankton Indians are on our western border north of the Missouri river; that they have joined with the hostile Indians in Minnesota and threaten our whole northwestern frontier. The settlers are flying by hundreds. I have ordered out five hundred mounted men. We lack arms and equipments and must have them. I beg you will order Gen. Harney to Sioux City immediately



W. B. F. F. F.

to take command and put down this outbreak. There is a regiment of infantry at this point armed and equipped for United States service except tents. They had better be sent to the border to operate there under Harney, but they must have tents. The danger is imminent and nothing but prompt action can save a terrible outbreak. Gen. Harney is just the man we need for the service. Another regiment of infantry is organizing at Council Bluffs. If this regiment could be mounted and ordered at once it would be better than to send the infantry. Something must be done.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

At the extra session of the General Assembly on the 9th of September a law was passed providing for the raising "at the earliest possible moment," a force of five hundred mounted men, and such other force as may be necessary for the protection of the northwestern frontier, and this was to be done by the Governor or some one authorized by him.

At the first alarm after the Minnesota massacre before this law was passed, this commission was issued:

AUGUST 29, 1862.

S. R. Ingham Esq.

SIR:—I am informed there is probable danger of an attack of hostile Indians on the inhabitants of the northwestern portion of our State. Arms and powder will be sent you at Fort Dodge, lead and caps will be sent with you. I hand you an order on the Auditor of State for one thousand dollars.

You will please proceed at once to Fort Dodge and to such other places there as you may deem proper. Use the arms, ammunition and money placed in your hands, in such manner as your judgment may dictate, so as best to promote the protection of the inhabitants of the frontier. It would be well to communicate with Capt. Millard commanding the company of mounted men raised for United States service at Sioux City. Place any men you may deem it advisable to raise, under his command. Use your discretion in all things, and exercise any power I could exercise if I were present, according to your best discretion. Please report to me in writing.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

On the 10th day of September, Mr. Ingham reported, among other things, that he had visited six counties along the border, where he found the inhabitants in a high state of excitement and alarm; that he had raised a company of forty

men, and had distributed to them and to the settlers of the different counties, arms and ammunition for their defense.

Having performed his duties here, he was about to start for Sioux City, when he learned that the Legislature had passed an act providing for frontier defense; when he got from the Governor, General Order No. 1, containing seven specifications relating to the raising, organizing, etc., of the troops to be raised, and he also received this further

COMMISSION.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, }
DES MOINES, Sept. 13, 1862. }

S. R. Ingham Esq.

SIR:—You are intrusted with the organization of the forces provided by law for the defense of the northwestern frontier, and with furnishing them with subsistence and forage during and after their organization, also with the posting of the troops raised at such points as are best calculated to effect the object proposed, until the election of the officer who will command the entire force, and generally with the execution of the orders of this date in connection with this force.

It is impossible to foresee the contingencies that may arise, rendering necessary a change in these orders, or the prompt exercise of the powers not therein contained, and delay for the purpose of consulting me might result disastrously. In order to avoid these results as far as possible, I hereby confer upon you all the powers I myself have in this regard. You may change, alter, modify or add to the orders named, as in your sound discretion you may deem best. You may make such other and further orders as the exigencies of the case may in your judgment render necessary. In short, you may do all things necessary for the protection of the frontier as fully as I could do if I were present and did the same.

The first object is the security of the frontier; the second that this object be effected as economically as is consistent with its prompt and certain attainment.

All officers and citizens are enjoined to co-operate with you and yield to you the same assistance and obedience they would to me, and I hereby ratify and confirm all you may do in the premises.

And you are fully authorized to employ any person or persons whom in your judgment you may deem necessary to assist you in the execution of your commission.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

Under this commission five companies of fifty men each were raised, known as the Northern Border Brigade, and they chose as their commander Lieutenant-Colonel Sawyers, and they were stationed at the following places: Chain Lakes, Estherville, Acheyedan, Peterson, Cherokee, Ida, Sac City, Correctionville, West Fork, Little Sioux and Melbourn, thus forming, in conjunction with portions of Captain Millard's company at Sioux City and Spirit Lake, a complete line of posts along the whole northwestern frontier.

On the 15th of December, Lieut.-Col. Sawyers reports that at each of the following places: Iowa Lake, Estherville, Peterson, Cherokee and Correctionville, there had been built, or were in forward progress of erection, a stockade, a block house, and stables for horses, and at most places forage for the horses for winter had been cut and stacked. So complete were the preparations for defense that no attack was made, and the following spring the United States sent out a force that drove the hostile Indians into the Yellowstone country beyond Dacotah, and they have not troubled the people of Iowa since.



CHAPTER X.

Thanksgiving Proclamation—Letter to the President—Wants Iowa Brigadiers—Col's Dodge, Perczel, Crocker and Elliott Recommended—Letter to Senator Grimes—Writes to an Impudent Surgeon—Letter to Col. Shaw—Soldiers Must be Treated Like Gentlemen—Good Words and Grass not the Things to Pelt Rebels With—Letters to Col. Worthington—To Governor of Maine—Annual Message—Inaugural.

PROCLAMATION.

Another year has gone, and we are brought to that period when, following the example of our Puritan fathers, we are accustomed to offer our public thanksgiving to the author of all good for His merciful providence toward us. Wonderful changes have occurred during the past year, and adversities seem to have overtaken us as a country and as a people, yet we have manifold blessings for which to be thankful. For the bounteous harvest of the field; for the general good health of the past year; for the peaceful relations we occupy with the nations abroad; for the aroused patriotic spirit of the people, which promises in due time to restore peace at home, and triumphantly place our civil and religious institutions of freedom on a firmer foundation than ever before; for these and many other blessings we have abundant cause for Christian gratitude. With civil war raging in our midst, the banner of rebellion along all our southern border, hostile armies marching to the conflict, and wails of mourning already swelling from thousands of stricken hearts and households, that we can still recognize manifold causes of gratitude and acknowledge His kindly providence and confidently place our trust in His hand to control this storm for the nation's good, may entitle us to the renewed favor of Him who doeth all things well.

To this end I, Samuel J. Kirkwood, Governor of the State of Iowa, do hereby appoint Thursday, the 28th day of November, as a day of thanksgiving, and I earnestly recommend the people of the State to abstain on that day from their usual avocations and assemble in their respective places of worship, to offer thanks, prayer and praise to Him in whose mercy now more than ever is our great trust.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD,
Governor of Iowa.

On the 4th of December, 1861, but little more than seven months after the first call for troops was made, the Governor wrote the President as follows:

His Excellency the President:—The State of Iowa has now in the field and in camp, waiting arms and equipments, fourteen regiments of infantry and four of cavalry. I feel that I can justly say, and am proud to say, that so far as they have been tried either on the battlefield or in the scarcely less arduous duties of camp life in Missouri, they have shown themselves to be at least equal to any other troops in the service. For some reason this State has not been very highly favored in the distribution of Brigadier-Generalships. Brig.-Gen. Curtis was appointed during the summer, and was the only Brigadier-General from this State, until the quite recent appointment of Brig.-Gen. McKean, and these two are all yet appointed from this State. Were this a matter involving the mere proportion of officers, I think I would not be disposed to press it upon your attention. But it involves more. Our regiments are scattered among brigades heretofore in all cases commanded by Brigadiers from other States, and composed mainly of troops from the State whence the Brigadier in command comes. Under these circumstances, it is but natural that our troops should fear their commanding officer would feel partial to the troops from his own State, and perhaps but natural that officers should feel that partiality. I have learned satisfactorily that the opinion prevails extensively among the troops from this State, that they have been unfairly dealt by in having had assigned to them the most laborious and the least desirable duty in Missouri, and that in the report of the battle of Belmont, gross injustice has been done them, and I am sorry to be compelled to say, that in my judgment this opinion is not wholly without foundation. This seems to me to be an unfortunate state of affairs, and one that should not be suffered to continue, if it can be readily avoided. I therefore very respectfully propose that you appoint from this State a number of Brigadier-Generals, sufficient to take command of our troops, and that our troops be brigaded and placed under the command of these officers.

It seems to me that a spirit of State pride will in this way be called into action that will tell well in the service, and at the same time all cause of complaint will be removed. I take great pleasure in submitting to your consideration for the positions indicated, Col. G. M. Dodge of the Fourth Iowa Infantry, Col. Nicholas Perczel of the Tenth Iowa Infantry, Col. M. M. Crocker of the Thirteenth Iowa Infantry, and Col. W. L. Elliott of the Second Iowa Cavalry, from among whom I hope you will be able to select the number to which our State will be entitled, in case our troops shall be brigaded and placed under our own officers.

Trusting this matter may receive your early and favorable attention, I have the honor to be

Very respectfully your obedient servant

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

After waiting nearly two months, on the 10th of February he writes to Senator Grimes in Washington:

"I do not get any reply to my letters to the President in regard to brigading our Iowa regiments and the appointment of additional Brigadiers from this State. I am fully satisfied that this is necessary, that our soldiers may have fair play; and I intend to persist in it till I know the thing is done or can't be done. We must look at things as they are. Brigadier-Generals, if not religious men, are yet generally believers in a hereafter to this extent—they think they may hereafter want votes. Now suppose one of our regiments in a brigade, the balance of which are from Illinois under an Illinois Brigadier. He knows our men can not vote for or against him when the war is over, and that the Illinois men can, and we may presume the human nature that exists inside, as well as outside the army and among Brigadiers, as well as others, will lead them to favor those who may hereafter benefit them at the expense of those who can't. And such I am advised is the fact. Our regiments under such circumstances are made the drudges of the brigade, are not properly looked after and cared for, and the credit of what they do is given to others, as at Belmont.

"It may be, the President thinks we have not fit men in Iowa. I wish we had better men than we have, but I feel sure Perczel, Dodge and Crocker are better, much better, than men from States who have Brigadiers' commissions now. * * * It seems to me there might be room made for three Iowa men, and I will guarantee that neither of the men named will believe that his first duty will be to preserve slavery.

"There is a man named Brodie, a brigade surgeon, appointed from Detroit, of whom I am continually hearing bad accounts of his brutality and intemperance. Can't you cut his head off?"

The Governor had written this surgeon in regard to the neglect of our sick soldiers and got a very impudent answer, in which the statement was made that "it was not the duty of a brigade surgeon to comb the hair of the sick soldiers."

A long reply was sent intimating that it was his duty to see that it was done, and giving him such a scoring as could only come from the Governor's trenchant and indignant pen, closing with these expressive sentences:

"I speak and feel warmly on this subject. It worries me to know our brave boys are suffering as they have done and do, and, God willing, I will try and see to it that they are better taken care of, or know the reason why."

At all times, in all places and on all suitable occasions during the progress of the War of the Rebellion, Governor Kirkwood acted on the principle, and recognized the fact, that it was the muskets and bayonets of the rank and file, and not the swords of the officers of the line and field, that thinned the ranks of the rebel hosts; and all his efforts were directed towards making those who carried those muskets most efficient soldiers. The brigading of them under their own Iowa leaders was recommended by him, not to gratify the ambition of aspiring Colonels, but to increase the effective force of the rank and file. He wanted the privates to be well treated and well cared for.

On the 14th of January, 1862, he writes Col. Shaw of the Fourteenth Regiment:

"I am well assured you are doing all in your power to promote the comfort of your men. Allow me to suggest one thing that, possibly, may be of service. Hold your company officers to a strict accountability for the perfect cleanliness of their company quarters, and of the clothes of their men, and for the cleanliness and good cooking of the food for the companies. It seems to me the company officers should see to these matters and should be held accountable if they are neglected."

At a later date, writing to Col. Worthington of the Fifth Regiment, he says:

"Permit me to make the following suggestions:

"First—The treatment given to privates in the Regular Service will not do for the volunteers. Every company of volunteers contains many men equal in every respect to their officers, except in military position. These men, while always ready to yield obedience to military orders, and to submit to the restraints of proper discipline, are yet gentlemen, and expect to be treated as such. In the Regular Army the distinctions between the officers and privates are as marked as between castes in India. All attempts to introduce such distinction in our volunteer force must fail, and will always produce mischief.

"Second—They have not any very high regard for men of known

Secession antecedents or sympathies. They *do* and *will* make a distinction between men who are loyal and men who are disloyal in the treatment both of persons and property; and I confess I participate in that feeling, so long as the persons and property of Union men are outraged and plundered by rebel troops as they have been, and so long as the principal occupation of Union troops continues to be the guarding and protection of the persons and property of rebels as it has been, so long will there be dissatisfaction among our soldiers with this state of affairs. * * * It will be well to try a different and more stringent mode of treatment with rebels and sympathizers. We have been pelting them in the Secession apple-tree with good words and grass for a long time, and they *won't come down*. I think the time has fully come to use stones."

On the 24th of March he writes to Senator Grimes at Washington:

"How about our Brigadiers? You know I long ago recommended Dodge, Crocker and Perczel, and I yet think them among our best Colonels as you will find, as they are tried. Dodge *has* been tried at Pea Ridge and has turned out just as I expected. I think him one of the very best military men in our State. Has Lauman been appointed? He acted manfully at Belmont and deserves it. Tuttle's charge at Donelson is one of the most brilliant things of this or any other war. I have been on the ground he charged over, and I believe that none but Iowa troops could have done it. Vandever did nobly at Pea Ridge, so far as I have learned, and all our Colonels and all our men will do the same when they get a chance. Can't we get some more Brigadiers?"

Beneath the cold skies of Maine, on the frozen shores of the Atlantic, the Governor vindicates the valor, honor and courage of Iowa soldiers by the following letter:

"EXECUTIVE OFFICE, Iowa, April 3, 1862.

"Hon. Israel Washburne, Jr., Governor of Maine, Augusta, Maine:

"SIR—I have just received a certified copy of a resolution of the General Assembly of your State in reference to our victories in the West. Please accept my thanks for this compliment paid to our Western troops.

"Permit me, however, to state, in my judgment, strict justice has not been done to the troops from Iowa. The troops of Illinois are especially selected in the resolution for commendation for their gallant conduct at Fort Donelson. Too much honor cannot be given to the Illinois men for their gallantry there, unless in this case it be done by preferring them to the troops of other States. The men of Illinois

did bravely and well, and I shall never seek to pluck one leaf from the wreath of honor they there so nobly won; but it is not true, as is implied in the resolution, that they did more bravely or better than the men of Iowa. There was not any better fighting done by any of our troops at Fort Donelson than at the right of their intrenchments. There the crest of a long and steep hill was crowned by well-built rifle pits, defended by three of the best regiments in the rebel service. To their left, some 1500 yards, was a rebel battery that swept the face of the hill with a cross-fire. The face of the hill had been heavily timbered, but every standing thing had been cut down and thrown with the top down hill in such manner as to most effectually retard the approach of an attacking force. At that point, through the fallen timber, exposed to that cross-fire, in face of the three rebel regiments behind the rifle-pits, a regiment of Western men, with fixed bayonets, with guns at the trail and without firing a shot, steadily and unswervingly, charged up the hill and over the intrenchments, and planted the first Union flag in that stronghold of treason. The men who did this were men of Iowa. The flag borne by them, and the first planted by Union men in Fort Donelson, now hangs over the chair of the Speaker of our House of Representatives, and will soon be deposited in our Historical Society as one of the most sacred treasures of the State. I cannot, therefore, by my silence acquiesce in the implied assertion of your General Assembly that any other troops did better service at the capture of Fort Donelson than the troops of Iowa. Three other Iowa regiments were engaged in the same fight, and although our gallant Second, from the fact that they led the charge, deserved and received the greater honor, all did their duty nobly. Elsewhere than at Donelson—at Wilson's Creek—at Blue Mills—at Belmont and at Pea Ridge—our Iowa men have been tried in the fiery ordeal of battle and *never* found wanting. Their well-earned fame is very dear to our people, and I trust you will recognize the propriety of my permitting no suitable occasion to pass of insisting upon justice being done them.

"I have sent a copy of this letter to his Excellency the Governor of Illinois.

Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD."

The canvass of votes showed that Governor Kirkwood had a majority of 20,000 over W. H. Merritt, his leading Democratic competitor, and 15,000 over him and all others voted for.

On the 14th of January the annual message was delivered, from which the following extracts are made. On the

following day the inauguration took place and the inaugural address was delivered:

GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:

You have had conferred upon you, and you have accepted the duty of caring for, guarding and promoting the interest of the State. This duty, at all times responsible, is at present much more than ordinarily so, for the reason that the nation of which we are a part is engaged in civil war, most wantonly and wickedly thrust upon us by bad and designing men. I doubt not you will address yourselves to the discharge of this duty calmly and earnestly, seeking wisdom and strength from Him who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

The Constitution requires that I shall communicate to you the condition of the State, and recommend such matters as I may deem expedient, and I now proceed to the performance of that duty.

REVENUE AND TAXATION.

The expenditures of the last two years for all State purposes have been about \$300,000 for each year. This includes both ordinary and extraordinary expenditures—the amounts expended for the Insane Asylum, the Penitentiary, the Blind Asylum at Vinton, the printing of the Revised Statutes, and other extraordinary objects, as well as the amounts expended in carrying on the ordinary operations of the State government. The expenditure has not in any case been permitted to exceed the appropriation, and is materially less both for the Penitentiary and Insane Asylum, and has, in all cases that have come under my observation, been carefully and economically made. In my judgment, there is not another State in the Union in which the protection of government is extended to as large a population, so widely scattered, more economically than in our own. But while this is true, it is equally true that our finances are not in a healthy condition. The report of the Auditor of State discloses the somewhat startling fact that of the State tax for 1860 and preceding years, there was, at the date of his report (the 4th day of November, 1861), delinquent and unpaid the large sum of about \$400,000—a sum more than sufficient to cover the entire expenses of our State government for one year. This large delinquency has occurred mainly within the last four years, and the same report shows there were, at the same date, warrants drawn on the Treasury to the amount of \$103,645, which were unpaid for want of funds, most of which were drawing interest at the rate of eight per cent. per annum.

From these facts the following conclusions are inevitable: 1st, that during the last four years there has been levied a State tax larger by about \$300,000 than the necessities of the State required; 2nd, that this was rendered necessary by the fact that only a portion of our people paid the tax due the State; 3rd, that the State has been compelled yearly to pay large sums by way of interest on warrants which need not have been paid had the taxes been collected promptly and the Treasury kept supplied with funds to meet all demands upon it; 4th, that the State, being compelled to purchase its supplies with warrants, has had to pay higher prices than if it had had the cash to pay; 5th, that the tax-paying portion of our people have thus been compelled to pay not only their proper share of the public burthens, but also the share of those who did not pay their taxes, increased by interest and high prices. These things should not be so. They reflect discredit not only on those of our citizens who seek to avoid their just share of those burdens which are imposed upon all for the benefit of all, but also upon the laws which permit them to do so with impunity. I, therefore, very earnestly recommend to your attention a careful examination of our revenue laws for the purpose of ascertaining if they can be made more effective in enforcing the prompt payment of taxes.

The leading features of a good revenue law, in my judgment, are: 1st, the imposition of such penalty for the non-payment of taxes when due as will make it unmistakably the interest of every tax payer to pay promptly; 2nd, the assurance to the purchaser of property at tax sale of a valid title at the expiration of a fixed time. There is, in my opinion, much misapprehension in the minds of many persons on this subject. Some seem to think they receive no value for the money paid by them as taxes, and that they are, therefore, not culpable in avoiding payment if they can. Others, whilst they admit there is some kind of doubtful obligation upon them to pay their taxes, if convenient, yet insist that any stringency in the laws to compel payment would be unjust and oppressive, and that not greater penalty should be imposed for non-payment than the interest allowed by law between citizens. These are radical errors. Every citizen is protected by the State, in life, liberty and property, in all he has and in all he may acquire, and in all his honest efforts for further acquisition; and, in return, he is bound as a good citizen to render obedience to the laws, to pay promptly his share of the taxes necessary for the support of the government, and, in time of war, if need be, to defend the government with his life. If he fails to perform either of these duties of a good citizen, he is liable to punishment, and the amount added to his taxes for failure of payment at the time fixed by law is not the interest due upon a debt, but a fine, or penalty, for the non-performance of a duty. Nor can anyone justly complain of this. Why should any one of our people claim that he should enjoy all the benefits of civil government

and be exempt from its burthens; that he should have all these advantages at the expense of his neighbors?

It may be said that some are unable to pay their taxes. This, it seems to me, is erroneous. The amount of tax each one has to pay is in proportion to the property he has; the greater the tax, the greater the amount of property from which to raise means of payment. I am well convinced that taxes are paid most promptly by our farmers and by men of comparatively small means, and that there are very few of us who do not spend yearly for articles of luxury, which do not promote either our health, our prosperity, or our happiness, more than the sum required from us as taxes for the support of the government that protects us. The subject of revenue and taxation assumes a graver interest and importance at this time, for the reason that our State is called upon for the first time since its admission to pay a direct tax for the support of the General Government. We may expect to be called on to pay during the present year a Federal tax of from \$600,000 to \$700,000. This is rendered necessary by the heavy expenditures incurred by the General Government in preparing to put down the Rebellion in certain States of the Union.

A resort to loans has been and must continue to be necessary to meet these expenses, and prudence and sound economy require that the General Government shall not be compelled to borrow money to pay the interest accruing upon its loans. The interest upon loans made and to be made must be met by actual payment, and not by incurring further indebtedness. The capitalists of the country have thus far responded nobly to the calls made upon them by the Government, and have given it assistance and support as necessary as that rendered by the soldiers in the field. Six hundred thousand gallant men, of whom twenty thousand are from our own State, are in arms, giving their labor, their health, their lives, for the country, and now the call comes to us who are at home, and we are asked to give a little of our substance to the same good cause.

I have caused to be prepared from documents in the office of the Auditor of State a table, hereto appended, giving some interesting information touching the taxes paid by our people. It will perhaps be a matter of surprise to many that the taxes for the support of the State Government bears so small a proportion to the entire amount of taxes paid. It appears from this table that the whole amount of taxes for all purposes for 1861 was \$1,700,000, and that of this amount only \$300,000 was expended from the State Treasury for State purposes, while \$1,400,000 were expended from the several county treasuries for county and other purposes. I regard this table as useful, for this, among other reasons, viz: that the people have been led to believe that the great bulk of our taxes was caused by the expenditures of the State Government under appropriations made by the General Assem-

bly, and they have been taught to look to a reduction of State expenses as the means of relief from taxation. This table shows clearly and conclusively that of every \$5.66 paid by the people of the State as taxes, but one dollar reaches the State Treasury or is used for State purposes, while the other \$4.66 are retained in the counties and used for county and other purposes. I would not desire our people to relax their vigilant supervision of State expenses, but I am of opinion this information may lead them to give as vigilant supervision to the expenditures of their respective counties, where equal vigilance is, in my judgment, equally needed. It is evident from an inspection of the table, showing the amount of taxes paid and the purposes for which paid, that if it be deemed desirable to decrease our present expenditures by an amount equal or approximating to the amount of taxes required by the General Government, much the greater amount of such reduction must be made in the taxes levied for other than State purposes. * * * *

In order to make the revenue of the State more certain, I recommend that the County Treasurers be required by law to pay the State Treasurer, at fixed times, certain proportions of the amount of revenue due to the State, until the entire sum for each year is paid, whether the County Treasurers have received the entire amount of State tax or not. At present the State is wholly helpless as to its revenue. It has to depend wholly upon the officers of counties for its collection and transmission, and if the county officers are inefficient, the State is remediless. Each county is now liable by law to the State for the amount of State tax assessed in it, but this liability, without any means of making it practicably effective, is useless. If the counties were required to pay the revenue due the State, whether collected or not, the County Supervisors would be stimulated to require of the Treasurer a strict performance of his duties; and if, in addition, you should so change the present law as to give County Treasurers, in lieu of salary, a per centum on the amount of money collected and disbursed, or provide for township collectors, to be paid in the same way, our taxes would, in my opinion, be more punctually paid.

I also recommend that it be made the duty of the Board of Supervisors of each county, to employ a competent accountant once in each year to examine the accounts of each county officer, and state an account between each officer and his county, and between officer and officer, and also that County Treasurers and all other persons who receive public moneys be prohibited, under severe penalties, from using them in any way or placing them with others to be used for their private benefit.

The law of Congress imposing a direct tax for the support of the General Government gives to any State the privilege of collecting the amount of tax assessed upon its people, and allows such State to retain fifteen per cent. of the amount, on condition the State shall assume

the payment of the balace of the tax. Thereupon arises the important question: What shall the State do in the premises? It must be remembered that if the State assumes the tax, the entire amount, less fifteen per cent. must be paid by the State, whether the State collects the tax or not. Keeping this in recollection, let us ascertain as nearly as may be our precise position. This State has expended for the General Government about \$450,000, and has been repaid the sum of \$80,000. The State has sold her bonds to the amount of about \$200,000. The proceeds of said sale \$184,000, and the \$80,000 received from the General Government have been applied to paying the expenses incurred by the State, leaving unpaid and due wholly, I believe, to our own people, about \$186,000, for which they hold or can receive warrants drawn on the War and Defense fund. If the amount expended by the State, which is to be reimbursed by the General Government, be \$450,000, there is now due the State \$370,000; and if the Federal tax should be \$650,000, and the State should assume it, there would be due the General Government the sum of \$182,500, being the entire amount of the tax, less the amount now due the State, and the fifteen per cent. for assumption and collection which must be assessed upon and paid by our people.

But we must provide also for the payment of the amount due our own citizens. This must be done by assessing the amount as a tax and by either actually collecting the money and paying it to the holders of the warrants, or by authorizing those holding warrants to surrender them to the Auditor, and receive in lieu of them other warrants of the amount of five dollars each, which shall be receivable in payment of the Federal tax. These warrants being of small amounts, and being all receivable during the present year for taxes, would be nearly or quite at par, and would be much more valuable to the holders than the present ones. Should this course be deemed advisable, it will be necessary, in order to meet the demand made upon us by the Federal Government, to levy a tax of about \$368,500, of which \$182,500 must be collected in money, and \$186,000 may be paid in the warrants outstanding against the War and Defense Fund. Our State debt will have been increased by \$200,000, and we will not have any money in our Treasury wherewith to meet further military expenses, should they be necessary. It will be observed that the sums given are generally estimated. Absolute precision could not in some cases be arrived at, but it will be found the estimates approximate very nearly the truth. If this should not be deemed advisable, we can present our claim against the General Government, receive the amount due the State, pay the outstanding warrants in the hands of our people, and either collect in money the Federal tax and pay it to the General Government, retaining the fifteen per cent. for so doing, or allow the General Government to collect the whole without interference on our part. In

view of the actual condition of our affairs and the want of promptitude with which our taxes are paid, I am inclined to favor the plan first recommended. If I had assurance that our taxes would be paid as they should be, I would much prefer the second.

Intimately connected with the subject of taxation and revenue, is the question as to the kind of money which shall be received for taxes. Under our present laws, specie only is receivable for public dues. In view of the recent suspension of specie payments by the General Government and the banks of the eastern States, it becomes a question of great importance whether we can collect our revenue in coin. I do not believe we can, and I urgently recommend to you such changes in our laws as will allow the payment of taxes with United States treasury notes and the notes of the State Bank of Iowa. It is true the United States treasury notes are not payable in specie, but it is the interest of all loyal States and of all loyal citizens to keep them at par, and the receipt of them for taxes by the loyal States would tend much to that end. The State Bank of Iowa is required by the law creating it, at all times, to redeem its circulation in coin, and I believe it expects and is fully prepared to meet that requisition. If, as it seems to me we must and should receive for revenue the United States treasury notes not redeemable in specie, I cannot see the wisdom or justice of refusing to receive the notes of our own banks, that are so redeemable, especially when by so doing we make the payment of taxes more easy to our people and more certain to the State, and at the same time aid to some extent in keeping in circulation among us a currency which has, and in my judgment, deserves the confidence of the people.

MILITARY AFFAIRS.

The report of the Adjutant General, herewith submitted, shows the number and description of troops raised in this State for United States service to be sixteen regiments of infantry, four of cavalry, three batteries of artillery and one independent company of cavalry for frontier service. Of these the fifteenth and sixteenth regiments of infantry are not fully organized. In addition, Col. Koch and Col. Rankin are engaged in raising regiments of infantry, which if completed, will make the seventeenth and eighteenth regiments of that arm of the service.

It is a matter of much gratification to me that our State has thus promptly responded to the demands made upon it by the United States for aid in this perilous crisis of our country's history, and it is also a matter of great pride to me that the troops of our State, whether tried in the exhausting service of the camp, the march, or in the fiery ordeal of the battle-field have never been found wanting, but have by their cheerful endurance of unaccustomed hardship and their indomitable valor won for themselves and our State a name which may well cause

us to feel an honest pride in claiming in any part of our broad land, that our homes are in Iowa.

At the extra session of 1861 what was supposed ample provision was made to furnish the necessary funds for raising, clothing and equipping the volunteers that might be required from this State, by authorizing the issue and sale of our State bonds. Immediately after the close of that session, the necessary steps were taken to put our bonds in market, but before they could be offered in New York the faith and credit of our State were most wantonly and unjustly attacked by certain papers in that city, so that when, under the law, the bonds were offered for sale, it was found entirely impossible to effect sales at the prices fixed by the Board of Commissioners appointed for that purpose, or which would not have been ruinous to the State. No sales were therefore made in New York,* and an appeal was made to our own people to take the bonds and furnish the means necessary to meet the large expenses consequent upon raising the troops called for from this State. The report of the loan agents herewith submitted will show you the amount of bonds sold by them in the State, and the amount of money received therefor. It will be seen that much the larger proportion of the bonds was taken by persons to whom the State was indebted and that but a small share was sold for cash. The result was that the officers charged with the duty of raising troops as required by the General Government were much embarrassed for want of means, being compelled to operate wholly upon credit, consequently to great disadvantage. Whatever could be furnished by our people was promptly furnished on the credit of the State, but without means it was impossible to procure arms, clothing and such other articles as our own people did not produce. After providing clothing for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Regiments, I found it utterly impossible to provide for those subsequently raised, and was compelled to rely on the General Government for that purpose, and although it was a matter of much mortification to me, to be compelled to allow our troops to leave our State un-uniformed and un-armed, yet I am induced to believe the result has been as well for the troops and for the government. The troops who left our State without uniform, left at a season of the year when but little clothing was needed for comfort, and they were provided with uniforms in Missouri as speedily and more cheaply than I could have provided for them. The regiments which have left the State more recently have been furnished with good clothing by the General Government before leaving. I have not purchased for the State the arms contemplated by the law passed at the extra session, for the reason that arms could be had only for money, and I had not the money wherewith to pay. Some arms have been furnished by the General

*A few were sold to give them a quotable market value—H. W. L.

Government, but not sufficient for the security of the State, and I recommend the subject to your careful consideration.

On several occasions during the past season, when the rebels had or appeared likely to get control in northern Missouri, much uneasiness existed along our southern border lest they should attempt an invasion of our State, which, for want of arms, our people were not properly prepared to resist. Immediately after the close of the extra session of the General Assembly, I appointed Col. John Edwards and Col. Cyrus Bussey as my aids, with large discretionary powers, to act for the preservation of tranquility in the southern border counties. I was well satisfied the peace of our State would be more easily preserved by preventing invasion than by repelling it, and therefore while I could not order our State troops beyond our State line, instructed Colonels Edwards and Bussey, and through them the troops under their command, that if at any time the loyal men of northern Missouri were in peril and called upon them for assistance, they had as full authority as I could give them to lead their men into Missouri to the aid of the loyal men there, and my promise upon their return that my power should be used to the utmost extent to protect them if called in question for so doing. Under these circumstances, and in some cases at the instance of officers of the United States, Col's Edwards and Bussey, and Col. Morledge of Page county, at different times led bodies of Iowa troops into Missouri and kept them in service there until their presence was no longer needed, and I am well assured their services were highly valuable, not only in preserving the peace of our border and protecting our own people, but in supporting and strengthening the Union men of Missouri. The expenses incurred in these expeditions are, in my judgment, properly chargeable to the General Government, and I am now seeking their reimbursement.

Great uneasiness also existed on our western and northern borders lest the Indians in Dacotah and Minnesota might be led by designing men to take advantage of the troubled state of public affairs, and commit depredations on our people in that region. The great distance of that part of the State from the place where my other duties compel me to keep my headquarters, and the want of the means of speedy communication therewith either by railroad or telegraph, rendered it in my judgment absolutely necessary that I should confer on suitable persons the power to act for me promptly in case of emergency as fully as if I were present to act in person. I accordingly conferred such authority on Hon. Caleb Baldwin of Council Bluffs, and Hon. A. W. Hubbard of Sioux City. Under this authority bodies of mounted men were called into service at different times for short periods, and I am happy to be able to state the tranquility of that portion of our State has been preserved.

I cannot permit this occasion to pass without thanking Messrs.

Edwards, Bussey, Morledge, Baldwin and Hubbard, for their efficient and valuable services.

At my request the Secretary of War authorized the enlistment of a company of cavalry in the service of the United States, especially for the protection of the northwestern border. This company has been recruited and mustered in, and I hope will be sufficient for the protection of that portion of our State.

Our troops in Missouri have suffered greatly from sickness. To some extent this is perhaps attributable to the want of care and prudence among the men themselves, to a change in their mode of life, to their eating badly cooked food, and to the fatigue and exposure of hard labor and severe marches, and to a much greater extent to the want of proper hospitals, proper comforts for the sick, proper nurses, and sufficient medical aid. Doubtless experience in camp life will convince our troops of the necessity of guarding their health, adapt them to their new circumstances and will make them better cooks; and I ardently hope the time will soon come when those who have the power so to do will provide that the labor which has prostrated so many of them, shall be done by the slaves of those who have forced this war upon the country. Proper hospitals are now provided, and the women of our State, following their womanly instinct to care for the suffering, have been and are engaged in making and forwarding to our troops those delicacies and comforts not provided by the regulations, but so necessary and so cheering to the sick. I am decidedly of the opinion that female nurses in our hospitals would render invaluable service; and I earnestly recommend that provision be made for securing such service for the benefit of our sick and wounded soldiers.

I am well convinced that the medical staff (a Surgeon and Assistant Surgeon), now allowed by law to each regiment, is insufficient, and I have been corresponding with the proper authorities for the purpose of effecting a change in the law. I recommend that power be given the Governor to appoint an additional Assistant Surgeon for each of our regiments in service, to be paid by the State in case Congress shall not by law make the necessary provision.

The law passed at the extra session for the organization of the militia, is in many respects defective, and has been, in my judgment, a hindrance instead of an aid in raising troops for the service of the United States. If the organization of the militia is to be provided for by State law, a more full and perfect system must be devised. But the Congress of the United States has power "to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, * * * reserving to the States respectively the appointment of officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress." It is probable that Congress will at the present session, in view of the necessities of the country, provide a complete system of

military organization for all the States, to the extent of the power thus conferred. It may be well to await such action until near the close of your session, and conform your action to such provision, if made.

SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY FUNDS.

The State University is now in successful operation, although much embarrassed for want of means arising from the non-payment of interest due on loans of its permanent fund. The enactment of laws requiring the more prompt payment of interest, and for the safety and better investment of the permanent fund as above suggested, will enable the trustees and faculty to extend the usefulness of the institution. I am decidedly of opinion that not only the interest of the institution, but also the interest of the State require, that you should provide a military department of the University, and should establish a military professorship therein. The sad experience of the last few months has shown us the necessity of military knowledge among our people. By giving to the young men who may attend the University, military instruction and training, we will not only greatly benefit them, but will also have made provision for what our present experience shows may at any moment become a necessity to our people. The Board of Education at their recent session directed the trustees of the University to make provision for a military department therein as soon as the General Assembly should make the necessary appropriation therefor, and I earnestly recommend the subject to your favorable consideration.

RECLAMATION OF FUGITIVES FROM JUSTICE.

The law in regard to the reclamation of fugitives from justice is indefinite as to the amount of fees to be paid to agents of this State, who bring back such fugitives, and as to whether it is the duty of the Census Board to pay such expenses in all cases. It is desirable that the uncertainty on these points should be removed.

AGRICULTURE.

Agriculture is, and for many years must continue, to be the leading interest in our State; and any fair and legitimate aid that can be given thereto will tend to promote the public good. With this object the State has for some years paid considerable sums yearly to aid the Agricultural Societies of the State and counties. Whether the benefits that have resulted from this expenditure will justify its continuance during our present difficulties and embarrassments, you must decide. This great interest of our State may in my judgment be aided by legislation in a new direction. Hitherto our great staples for export have been wheat, corn, cattle and hogs. The prices paid for the transportation of these articles to New York form a large portion of their value at that point. Indeed, wheat and corn will not bear transportation to

that market during the season when navigation of the lakes is closed. Experience has, I think, conclusively shown that our State is admirably adapted to sheep grazing, and the value of wool in proportion to its bulk and weight is much greater, and the price of its transportation to New York in proportion to its value, much less than that of our present staples.

A great drawback upon the growing of wool is that large numbers of sheep are annually killed by dogs. I therefore recommend that a tax be levied on all dogs in the State, and that the proceeds of the tax be applied to paying to owners of sheep killed by dogs, the value of the sheep thus killed. I would go further than this—I would exempt from taxation for a period of five years all sheep not exceeding fifty, owned by any resident of the State, and would also exempt from taxation for the same time all capital invested in the State in the manufacture of woolen goods.

I am well satisfied that the cultivation of flax can be successfully and profitably introduced in our State. It is valuable not only for the seed, but for the lint, which under a new process is converted into what is called flax cotton. I am well assured that before the commencement of the rebellion, a remunerative price could be paid in our State for the flax straw, which has heretofore been an entire loss to the farmer, the fibre separated from the wood, and the tow transported to Boston and manufactured into flax cotton, which could fairly compete in price and usefulness with the cotton of the Southern States. In order to stimulate our people to examine the question carefully, and if possible, introduce among us a new and profitable branch of industry, I recommend that all capital invested in the manufacture of linseed oil or the conversion of flax straw into flax cotton, be exempted from taxation for five years.

If our industry were more diversified, we would suffer less from fluctuations of prices of particular articles, and if as necessity requires and opportunity offers, we become manufacturers as well as producers, we will increase our wealth and independence.

I have thus endeavored to place before you the condition of the State, so far as, in my judgment, your action is needed for its improvement. Your wisdom will doubtless discover some, perhaps many, particulars in which legislation will be necessary that have been overlooked by me.

The year which has just closed has brought to our people a new experience, new trials, new responsibilities and new duties. Let us continue to meet them, as we have thus far met them, with neither an overweening confidence in, and reliance upon, our own strength, nor an unmanly and craven fear for ourselves or of the hardships we may endure before we win by deserving success, but with patience, calmness, unflinching courage and an abiding faith in God.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives :

As this is the first time in the history of our State that the same person has been twice elected to the office, the duties of which I have for the second time just assumed, and as the transmission to you of a message in writing, communicating the condition of the State and recommending such matters as seemed to me expedient, was among the last of the official acts of my first term of service, it was for some time a question with me whether it was proper for me, in commencing my second term, to conform to the custom heretofore acted on by incoming Governors of delivering an inaugural address. Upon reflection, I did not feel at liberty to disregard what is a well established, and what is considered a useful, custom.

When, two years ago, I first assumed the duties of my present office, I saw, and in my inaugural address alluded to, the bitter and exasperated feelings existing in certain portions of our country, which have since resulted in the present Rebellion, and pointed out what seemed to me to be some of the exciting causes of that feeling. The people of our country were then about entering upon one of those political contests by which the policy of our General Government is, for a time, determined; and I expressed the belief that this angry and excited feeling would not result in an appeal to arms, but that a people taught as ours have been to yield almost instinctively to the fairly expressed will of the majority would, when the feeling engendered by its contest had passed away, again permit the calm dictates of reason to resume their sway, and that we would again become a contented and happy nation. Time has shown that my belief was erroneous, and yet it seems to me it was a reasonable and just belief.

All men know well that the government against which rebellion, would be made, if raised at all, was the government which made the least exactions and conferred the most benefits upon its people of any government in the world. All men knew well, and none better than those now in rebellion, that the Administration, whose accession to power their opponents declared they would consider cause for revolt, could not during their term of office, even if so disposed, inflict upon the defeated party any wrong. And it seemed then, and seems yet, to me to be a reasonable and just belief that no portion of a people, so intelligent as ours has claimed to be, could revolt against a government which had conferred upon them only benefits, and against an Administration powerless to injure them. All men know, too, that rebellion must bring upon those engaged in it terrible calamities, if

not sure destruction, and it did seem reasonable and just to believe that sane men would not bring upon themselves such results without cause.

Yet there were other things bearing upon this question which we did not know. We did not know, even although we were so told by some far-sighted men—it seemed too monstrous for our honest and loyal-hearted people to believe—that men whom they had delighted to honor, men upon whom they had conferred the high places, even the highest place of honor and profit and trust under our government, could, whilst yet holding these places and pledged in the sight of God and before men faithfully to discharge their trust, and with professions of love and attachment to our government yet warm upon their lips, deliberately conspire to overthrow and destroy that government which they were so strongly bound to protect and defend. I repeat it, our honest and loyal-hearted people could not believe these things to be true: they were to them too monstrously infamous for their belief. They had not yet learned the bitter lesson that honesty, truth, good faith and loyalty were but mere words used by these men as a cover under which to deal, as they hoped, a fatal stab to that government from which they had derived all they ever had of honor or importance. Had this not been so (and although its truth has produced such terrible results, I thank God our people could not then believe it possible), I am well convinced we would to-day have no Rebellion. Had the occupant of the Presidential chair, for the year preceding the 4th day of March, 1861, and his advisers, been true men, and had they done their duty as such and stricken rebellion one honest, downright blow when first it reared its hateful head, we would have to-day a peaceful and united nation. But this, unfortunately, was not so. Treason and imbecility sat in our high places, and surrendered one after another the outposts of the citadel of our strength into the hands of Rebels, until, emboldened by success, they believed the citadel itself to be within their grasp. In this way the Rebellion was encouraged and strengthened, and thousands of men were induced to array themselves upon its side from the conviction that the government was powerless to protect its friends or punish its enemies.

At last, but too late, came a change of administration. Our Government asserted its rights, and gave evidence of its will and power to maintain them, and then came the Civil War that is now upon us.

I need not undertake to point out to you the primary cause which has led to this disastrous issue. Although there may have been many minor causes, all tending to the same end, such as the disappointed ambition of bad men and the lust for power, the clear common sense of our people has seen and accepted the fact that the one great controlling cause of this wicked Rebellion, and of all the fearful consequences which have followed and must follow from it, is the system of

Human Slavery. Sophistry cannot disguise this fact, nor argument illustrate it. It is patent, tangible, and sooner or later it must be accepted by our rulers, as well as by our people, and acted on by all. This baneful system, which has wrought such terrible results, was accepted with great reluctance by our fathers as an existing but most unfortunate fact, and its existence recognized and protected by them as such, but surrounded at the same time by influences such as they confidently hoped would soon eventuate in its total and peaceful extinction. That hope has been sadly disappointed. This system, so reluctantly admitted into our form of government, and so antagonistic to its vital principles, has, like a foreign substance in the human body, been to the body politic a source of constant irritation, and has been the real cause of all the heart-burnings and ill-will among our people. Circumstances, not foreseen at the beginning, have fostered and encouraged it. It has been defended, protected and nourished by its votaries with a devotion almost unparalleled, until it has acquired a strength and power which enabled it, at first by stealthy approaches and then by bold attack, to seize the reins of government and control the policy of our people. And when peacefully and constitutionally it was driven from its usurped seat of empire, and the determination expressed that for the future it should be kept in the subordination for which it was originally intended, it revolted and by civil war has sought to destroy the Republic it could no longer control, and from the remains to build a new one in which its empire should be absolute and undisputed.

I have said that our people have seen and accepted these facts, and that the time must come, sooner or later, when our rulers, too, must see them, and when all, rulers and ruled, must act upon them. It is not for us to determine what that action shall be. That is the right and duty of others. But it is for us—it is our right and duty—to advise with those others, and to point out to them the course which, in our best judgments, should be pursued. Understand me rightly. I freely accept, and have cordially acted upon, the theory that it is for our rulers to determine the policy to be pursued, and for us to sustain them, even if that policy should not meet our approbation. But it does not follow that we must not advise a change of policy, if our judgment teaches or experience has shown such change to be necessary.

What then, if anything, have we to advise? Let us see where we stand, and what are our surroundings. More than twelve months ago this war upon our government was begun, and it has been prosecuted up to this moment on the one side with fierce vindictiveness, and terrible earnestness. Nothing, literally nothing, has been allowed to stand in the way of the advancement of the cause for which this war has been waged, by those who advocate that cause. Officers of the army and

navy, to advance that cause have deserted their flag. Statesmen, to advance it have betrayed their trusts. Among all ranks, acts of fraud, words of falsehood and deeds of violence have been held good and honorable service, if thereby the cause might be advanced, and the entire energies of its advocates have been directed to that single end. The sole question they have asked has been: "What thing can we do which will most effectually and speedily break the strength of our adversaries?" And when that question has been answered, they have as one man done that thing. How have they been met? Until the 4th day of March last past, not only were no steps taken to arrest their progress, but many of those who now are not of and with them, insisted that coercion should not be used to arrest it. After that date although the new administration took prompt and vigorous steps to meet the crises, many people in the loyal States still protested against coercive measures to suppress rebellion, and many others sought, as if expecting to find, some neutral ground on which to stand, some middle ground between loyalty and treason, as if a citizen could be loyal to his government who did not lend his hand to defend it when rebels sought to destroy it. But time passed on till Sumter fell and our nation awoke from what appeared to be the slumber of death. With fiery zeal and generous emulation, the young men of all classes and all parties in the loyal States rallied around the government, until to-day we have under our banner the best army the world has ever seen; ready and eager to meet in battle all enemies who seek the destruction of the Union. And yet it seems to me that we do not bring to this conflict the same directness, the same unity of purpose and action our adversaries do. It seems to me we do not ask ourselves what one thing can we do that will most effectually and speedily break the strength of our enemies? and when that question is answered, do that thing. It seems to me the idea still pervades and controls the minds of many of us that our duty requires of us not only the preservation and protection of the Union, but the preservation and protection of slavery; that we have sometimes feared to strike an earnest blow against rebellion, lest that blow should fall on the head of slavery; that we regard slavery as an essential part of the Union itself, and that the Union would not be worth preserving, unless slavery could be preserved with and remain part of it.

If these things be so, we are yet far from the path that will lead to success. Slavery, the leading cause of this rebellion, is an element of strength or of weakness to the rebels, just as we will it shall be. If we say to the slaves of rebels, we are your enemies, they will remain with their masters and be to them a strength and support. If we say to them, we are your friends, come to us and you shall be free, they will seek to come by thousands, and the armies now standing in battle array against our soldiers, will be needed at home to restrain them.

Take the case of South Carolina. Our soldiers are to-day upon her soil. She has a population of about 700,000 souls, more than one-half of whom are slaves. Experience, the best of teachers, has shown that these slaves want freedom, that they look upon our soldiers as friends, and would, if encouraged so to do, flock to our camps by thousands. As the slaves of rebel masters, their labor in the field and in the camp, furnishes the rebel troops with food, and does for them much of that severe camp labor which exhausts the energies of the soldiers and brings sickness upon them. Thus rebellion is strengthened by slavery. Shall we continue to leave it this strength? shall we do more than this? Shall we continue to drive back to their rebel masters these unfortunates, and compel them to be our enemies although they wish to be our friends? Shall we continue to require of our brave soldiers who have gone forth to fight our battles, those exhausting labors that have brought sickness and death to so many of them, when these people stand ready and willing to relieve them if allowed?

It may be said that if we proclaim freedom to slaves of rebel masters, slavery must suffer and may be extinguished. I reply: So be it. The friends of slavery have in its supposed interest thrust this war with all its evils upon the country, and upon them and upon it be the consequences. It may be said the slaves of loyal masters will escape and thus loyal men will suffer loss. This may be, probably will be so. But if we shall be successful in preserving our government, and putting down this rebellion, we can and will make good all losses caused to them by the acts of the government for its preservation. Besides, it is their misfortune and not our fault that they live in sections of our country in which the war is carried on and in which either a majority of the people are rebels, or the loyal men in the majority have suffered themselves to be prostrated and trampled on by the rebel minority. We regret their condition, we pity their misfortunes, we will make good their losses caused by our acts for the preservation of the Union, but we cannot allow the Union to be stricken down because efforts for its preservation may work them present injury. War necessarily brings suffering and loss to the people among whom it is waged. This war brings suffering and loss to the loyal people of all our States, and we all must bear as well and as patiently as we may, until the end, when it will be our duty to repair so far as we may, the losses sustained by loyal men because of their devotion to their country.

I will not be misunderstood. This war is waged by our government for the preservation of the Union, and not for the extinction of slavery, unless the preservation of the one shall require the extinction of the other. If the war were so prosecuted that on to-morrow the preservation of the Union were effected and secured, I would not now wage the war another day. I would not now spend further treasure or further life to effect the extinction of slavery, although I might re-

gret that the war of its own producing had left in it enough of life to leave it to be our bane and pest in the future as it has been in the past. But while this is true, it is also true that if I had the power on to-morrow to end this terrible strife and preserve our Union by the extinction of slavery, while to preserve both would require a month's or a week's or a day's or an hour's further war; the spending of a single additional dollar to the loss of a single additional life; so surely as the Lord lives, this war would close to-morrow. No wife should mourn her husband, no mother her son, no maiden her lover, slain in a war protracted by me a single hour to preserve to rebels that which caused them to commence and which enables them to maintain rebellion. I would not believe that I had, nor do I believe that others have the right, although they may have the power to protract this war in order to preserve that which has caused the war. My deliberate convictions are that to prosecute this war successfully, we must strike directly at slavery, and that the time must soon come when every man must determine for himself which he loves most, the Union or slavery, and must act accordingly.

In the mean time, and at all times, it is our duty to rally around and support the government. We are not of those whose loyalty is doubtful or conditional. We do not say we will support the government if it adopts our views or carries out our plans, and if not, we will become neutral or join the enemy. We support it with hearts and hands and means, although we may doubt its policy, trusting time will demonstrate the correctness of our views, and bring about their adoption if found correct. The giving of honest counsel and the rendering of faithful service make up the duty of all true men.

The war has brought on us severe trials, and others are yet to come. Many of our best and bravest have died upon the battle-field or in the hospital, and many more must die. Our business operations have been interrupted, our markets have been closed, the prices of the products of our industry have been lessened, we have been compelled to wholly forego or materially to curtail the use of some luxuries which, by use, had become to us comforts of life, and these things must continue to be. They are the inevitable attendants of war, and must be borne as they have been borne, bravely, unflinchingly and cheerfully. Life is valuable, but it is intended to be useful; and how can anyone make his life more useful than by giving it for his country? Could our own brave men who died at Wilson's Creek, Blue Mills and Belmont have used their lives in any other way to better purpose than by losing them on those bloody but glorious battle-fields? Their names will live after them, embalmed in the hearts of our children and our children's children, as the names of men who died for their country, and their example will fire the hearts of generations yet to come to deeds of equal and as noble daring.

We are eminently a peaceful and peace loving people, and the interruption of our peaceful avocations of war and its incidents bears hardly upon us; but we must remember, that the only way to bring back and make permanently secure to us that peace we love so well, is to convince those who have thrust this war upon us and to convince all others that although we love peace much, we love our country's honor and the perpetuity of our Union more. But do we exaggerate the evils of our condition? I am well convinced that there is not in the world a people of equal numbers, all of whom enjoy to-day so many of the necessities and of the comforts of life as are enjoyed by our people. In our own State our cause of complaint is not that we have not enough of the necessities of life, but that we cannot get high enough prices for what we can spare of our superabundance; not, that we have not food but that we cannot sell to advantage food, we do not need!

But we will have to pay heavy taxes. True, we will and it is equally true we can. We have to do but one thing, and that thing we must do. We must give up the idea of money making to a great extent until this war is over. We must be content to devote to the preservation of the country a portion of all of the surplus we have been accustomed to lay up in years gone by. We may be required to return to customs and expedients for many years abandoned. We may be compelled to do as our fathers and mothers did, clothe ourselves as they did with the products of their farms and their own hands. What then? Our men will be none the less brave, loyal and loving; our women none the less true hearted, lovely and beloved. We may be required to do and may do all these things and yet suffering and want still be far from us. We may be required to do and may do all these things, and yet will not have done nearly so much as our fathers did to hand down to us the rich inheritance we are now striving to transmit unimpaired to our children. And if required, will we not do it promptly and cheerfully?

There may be amongst us a few men who know no impulse of patriotism, have no love of country, and can see nothing but sordid gain! There may be amongst us a few others who, blinded by prejudice, engendered by former political strife, cannot forget that the Government is guided in this struggle for its life by the hands of political opponents, and who would rather see it perish than have it saved by their hands, who will cry peace when there is no peace, and who will endeavor to turn us from the prosecution of this war by continually dwelling upon and exaggerating the misfortunes it has brought and will bring upon us. But these men are few in number and weak in influence. The great mass of our people see clearly and know well that no peace can be permanent which is made by compromising with armed rebels, and which will leave our present territory divided be-

tween jealous and hostile nations by such boundaries as it must be if not preserved in its integrity.

I cannot close this address without paying a well deserved tribute to the brave men who represent our State in the great army collected to do battle for our country. We may well be proud of them. We here as officers, and all our people as citizens, should feel that there is much for us to do to maintain that high reputation they have won for our State.

Trace the Iowa First on their weary way to Springfield; see them ragged and hungry but cheerful and ready; listen to their marching song as it rolls along the column, lending new vigor to themselves and their tired comrades; hear their fierce shouts and witness their daring deeds on the field where Lyon fought and fell; witness the heroic spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice with which the Iowa Third at Blue Mills attacked, and the bravery with which they fought the enemy in overpowering numbers to delay that enemy's retreat until expected reinforcements could arrive. See the Iowa Seventh on the bloody field of Belmont, heading the attack and covering the retreat; witness the cheerful endurance, the untiring energy, the indomitable valor of all our troops whenever and wherever tried, and who does not feel proud that he too is an Iowan? We owe these gallant men much. The rank and file of our regiments have never been surpassed. I doubt very much if they have ever been equaled. There is not a company in any of our regiments which does not contain in its ranks men who, in intelligence and moral worth, are the peers of any man who hears me. They have left behind them the comforts and endearments of home, their business, their friends, their all, and have taken their places as privates in the ranks with nominal pay and almost without a hope for honor and distinction. This is patriotism, and I repeat it "to these men we owe much." It is due to them at least, that all shall be done that our circumstances will allow to promote their health and comfort and I doubt not you will see to it that the debt is paid.

When the war commenced many of us hoped that by this time it would have been completed, or that at least we would be able to see the beginning of that desirable end. But we have been disappointed. The rebellion had greater strength than we supposed. Obstacles have arisen that we had not anticipated, and the end is not yet. But these things should not discourage, and I am glad to say they have not discouraged us. As the greater strength of the rebellion has been developed, we have promptly furnished the greater needed strength to put it down, and if need be Iowa can yet send forth many regiments as brave, as loyal, and as true as those that have already gone. As obstacles have arisen they have been met as brave men meet them. They have been trampled upon and we have passed on. And now when as it seems to us here that all things are ready, we are waiting patiently,

but with beating hearts, for the day when the great battle shall be fought—listening intently, and oh! how anxiously, for the battle shout, “God for the right,” which will on that day roll over that battlefield from the brave men who will be privileged there to rally around our dear old flag and strike in its defense, and trusting humbly and confidently that because they will strike for the right, the God of battles will give us the victory!



CHAPTER XI.

Gen. Fremont's Order—Gov. Kirkwood on the Same Subject—Writes the President as to His Emancipation Proclamation—The Second Iowa—Its Flag From Disgrace to Glory—Speech by Gov. Kirkwood—Response by the Speaker—Congratulates Crocker—Battle of Fort Donelson—News Reaches Des Moines—Scenes in the House—Senate Joins in the Jollification—Gen. Baker's Letter to the Speaker—Writes Col. Add Sanders—To Gen. Schofield and the President—The Women Will Help Harvest the Crops—Proclamation—Telegrams to Secretary of War—Governor Gets One Company too Many—Story of the Twins—Another Proclamation—Special Session of Legislature—Message.

During the first sixty years of the present century, next to the Government itself, the most powerful organization in the country was the Democratic party, and though occasionally defeated for a short time, its recuperative energies were sufficient to enable it, as a factor in national politics, to soon rally from its temporary defeats and recover its lost power. The next most powerful dominating force if not as great or greater, was slavery. It finally proved itself the greater, for in the year 1860, it dismembered that party, and when that was accomplished, it felt itself able to perform the same feat on the Government itself. And it undertook the task. Never was a greater truism uttered than that by Abraham Lincoln in 1858, when he declared that there was "an irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery; that this Government could not long exist half free and half slave; that the final triumph in this conflict could only terminate in the total surrender of one of these forces to the other."

When the rebellion broke out and the first calls for troops were made to put it down, the idea that these troops were to strike a blow at slavery, was strongly and emphatically negatived on all sides, at all times, in all places, and by all par-

ties. In fact the troops raised to crush the unholy rebellion were called upon too often to stand guard over slavery, to prevent it from hurting itself, or its open or secret enemies from hurting it.

General Freemont was the first man to become sensible of the fact that the best way to crush the rebellion was to crush its original moving cause, and in furtherance of this idea, on the 31st of August, 1861, from his headquarters at St. Louis he issued his famous order, one section of which reads thus:

"The property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri, who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be indirectly proven to have taken active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to public use; and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared to be free men."

This brought forth a howl of indignation from southern slave owners and their northern sympathizers, and weakened those who were trying to sustain the Government with one hand and slavery with the other, and this latter class was far too numerous.

So great a pressure was brought to bear upon the President, that he caused this order to be modified, but its issuance cost the general his position.

The next person to take a bold stand on this question was Governor Kirkwood, and that was done in his inaugural message, delivered four and a half months after the promulgation of Fremont's order. This message was a document no military order could revoke or modify, and no superior officer could change. It was greeted with satisfaction by all who were dissatisfied with Fremont's removal. It created some excitement, called forth much comment, as well as Copperhead denunciation. Copies of it were sent for by parties in other States who were in sympathy with the Governor on the questions it discussed, and it did much to edu-

cate public opinion and prepare the way for the issuing of the President's proclamations that succeeded it the following September and January.

It was the first State paper that looked to, and opened and prepared the way for the final and utter extinction of slavery.

As late as the 2nd of February, 1863, Gov. Kirkwood writing to the President says, "The proclamation issued by you on the 1st of January last, was an act the most important you have ever performed, and more important than in all human probability you will ever again perform."

The President in reply might have said, "your last inaugural message was the most important document that ever came from your pen, and in all probability you will never pen its equal."

ONE OF NAT BAKER'S JOKES ON THE GOVERNOR.

While the companies of the Fourteenth Infantry were being first rendezvoused at Davenport, in the summer of '61, and before the regiment had been organized, Governor Kirkwood was suddenly called from Iowa City to Davenport on business, expecting to return home the next day, but was suddenly called from there to Dubuque, where he met W. T. Shaw, who had been appointed its colonel, telling him the sad state the regiment was in—unorganized, its companies unlettered, with no one in command of it—and urging him to go at once to his regiment, as it was distressingly in need of him. The Colonel replied that he must go home first, as he had been gone several days and had not a change of linen with him. The Governor rejoined:

"It is not an officer in fine linen, freshly laundered, that the regiment needs, but one with regimental authority to command it and keep it in order, and it needs that badly. You have got that, and you must go down at once and use it. They need that a great deal more than you need a clean shirt."

The Colonel and Governor left Dubuque together, and

the former entered at once upon his duties; but the latter had an urgent call to go to Burlington, where he went, remaining a few days and returning home by way of Davenport. Entering the Adjutant-General's office the General says: "Governor, Shaw has gone home and left his regiment." The Governor says: "He should not have done that. What did he go home for?" The General replied: "He said every man he met that was not personally acquainted with him, after looking at his shirt, called him Governor Kirkwood, and he had borne that thing as long as he could stand it." As the weather was such that perspiration and shirt collars were at war with each other, with victory always on the former's banner, and his had seen several days' service without a change, the Governor was in a condition to appreciate the joke.

The battle of Fort Donelson, resulting in the surrender and complete capture of this stronghold, occurred on the 16th day of February, 1862. It was among the first victories of the war, and the very first complete victory in which Iowa troops had participated. While they had fought nobly and gallantly at Wilson's Creek and in the bloody battle of Belmont, and had established the fact that they were courageous and brave and in the line of duty could boldly march up to the cannon's mouth, it was not till they reached Donelson that they became complete masters of the field over which they fought. The Iowa Legislature was then in session, and the news of the battle reached Des Moines the next day. Both Senate and House were in session, and the scene as it occurred in the House is thus described by Hon. Charles Aldrich, who was then its Clerk, in an article published in the *Historical Record*:

"I was calling the roll, when I saw Hon. Frank W. Palmer, then State Printer and editor of the *Register*, enter the hall in a manner betokening great excitement, and glide along rapidly and noiselessly outside the circle of seats and into the Speaker's desk. In an instant the Speaker, Hon. Rush Clark, of Johnson, sprang to his feet, in the

very midst of a roll call, shouting at the top of his sonorous voice, 'General Grant has captured Fort Donelson!' Then followed a scene which, in the language of highly-wrought novels, 'beggars all description.' The members sprang to their feet with the wildest cheers and loudest hurrahs that ever woke the echoes of the old Capitol building. * * * The members went fairly wild, hugging each other, shaking hands, cheering, and in every possible manner giving way to expressions of extravagant delight. In a few seconds the Senators, startled by the noise and confusion, came rushing in and joined in the scene, expressing their exultant delight."

As soon as order was restored, the House

Resolved, That the Secretary of State be authorized to bring out the big gun and fire a salute of thirty-four rounds from Capitol Hill in honor of the glorious victory achieved in the capture of Fort Donelson and its 15,000 men.

The House adjourned to meet at 7 o'clock in the evening, but when met were too jubilant over the victory to settle down to business, when they immediately adjourned, and went to the Des Moines House, then the leading hotel in the city, where a banquet had been prepared, around which they could give further vent to their feelings of joy.

After partaking of the viands spread to refresh the "inner man," speeches were made to refresh the "loyal man." Mr. Aldrich, who was one of the participants at the feast, says:

"Among the speakers at that noisy table, of whom my recollection is most distinct, was our illustrious War Governor, Samuel J. Kirkwood. His blood had been at a very high temperature over the Trent affair, in which Mason and Slidell had been captured and afterwards given up, and the inspiration of the occasion did not, in the least, tend to cool him off. In the midst of his remarks, every word weighing a pound, while the perspiration freely run down his rugged face, he said: 'Parents should rear their children to hate Old England. If I had a son——.' Just opposite the Governor sat poor Redfield, then a Senator from Dallas county, a graduate of Yale, a glorious fellow, who afterwards 'foremost fighting fell' before Atlanta. When the Governor reached this point, Redfield could not restrain his enthusiasm, but, bringing his fist down upon the table with the force of a sledge hammer, exclaimed: 'By ——, Governor, you shall have one!' This demonstration brought down the house. The Governor did not finish the sentence. I must confess that my memory is misty concerning the



N. B. Baker

remainder of this speech. I believe he soon yielded the floor to some one else, but his look of sternness while uttering the words I have quoted I have never forgotten. It was more than a joyful time. Every Democrat in the Legislature was a 'War Democrat,' whatever he may have been twenty-four hours before."

The next day the following dispatch was sent to the Speaker:

"CHICAGO, Feb. 19, 1862.

"The Second Iowa acquitted themselves with great bravery at Fort Donelson—led the best and most successful charge—have suffered terribly. Besides the Second, there were the Seventh, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth and Fourteenth Iowa Infantry in the fight. The friends of Cols. Tuttle, Lauman, Perczel, Hare, Wood and Shaw will rejoice that the glory of the fight and the victory belongs and is attached to their names and to the brave officers and soldiers under them. Another glorious page has been recorded in the history of Iowa by her gallant troops in the field. With great respect, I have the honor to rejoice in the glory of Iowa and the triumph of Union men.

"N. B. BAKER,

"Adjutant-General of Iowa."

But there is another and a gloomy act in the Fort Donelson drama. The victory was won at a cost of 600 of our brave boys killed or severely wounded. One Iowa company that went in to the fight with eighty men, came out with but six. In many an Iowa home the tears of grief were trickling down over the cheeks of sorrow, and the sobs of anguish were mingling with the hoarse winter winds, for fathers, brothers, sons and lovers slain, and for other fathers, brothers, sons and lovers suffering from painful wounds and want of care. They were where no mother's kindly hand and voice or sister's tender sympathies, or lover's inspiring look could reach them. That their sufferings should be relieved as soon as possible, the Legislature sent a commission of medical men to look after and care for them, and make provision for their comfort. Governor Kirkwood took with him Surgeon-General Hughes and they accompanied the commissioners, for he could not rest till all had been done for the boys that could be, for he felt for them all the anxiety of a father.

The General Assembly placed at his disposal \$3,000 "to provide for supplying the wants of the soldiers of the several Iowa regiments."

HISTORY OF A FLAG—FROM DISGRACE TO GLORY—A STIGMA WIPED OUT WITH COURAGE AND VALOR.

The Second Iowa Volunteer Infantry was the first regiment enlisted in the State for the three years service, and no regiment was better officered than it. Four of those who were its colonels in succession, S. R. Curtis, James M. Tuttle, J. B. Weaver and M. M. Crocker, became generals, and the two who did not reach that rank died of wounds received in the battle of Corinth. While it was exceedingly well "officered," it was equally as well "privated," for its ranks were filled from our best class of citizens in some of the older counties of the State.

They were mustered into service the last of May, and until the next February were on duty mostly in Missouri, their last service in that State being the guarding of Rebel prisoners in the McDowell Medical College in St. Louis. While performing this latter duty, some articles were stolen from the museum of the college, and as the person, or persons, who did the stealing could not be found out, the punishment for the theft was inflicted upon the whole regiment, and punishment was inflicted in an order issued by Gen. Hamilton, commandant of the post, declaring that the march of the regiment from camp to the place of embarkation to be taken to Fort Donelson should be made without the tap of a drum, the blast of a bugle or the note of a fife, and with furled and undisplayed banner. The regiment was disgraced. Their flag was hiding its bright stars and brilliant stripes—emblems of a country's glory and a nation's pride—and no patriot's eye was permitted to greet, or soldier's enthusiasm to cheer, them.

At the time the regiment was drawn up in line before the college it had been guarding, preparatory to its march to the river, when the order disgracing it was to be read, a young lady appeared with a large wreath of flowers to be presented to the regiment and attached to and adorn the flag as a tribute from loyal citizens to the regiment for its valor, its loyalty and good conduct while in St. Louis.

The flag going down in disgrace carried the wreath along with it.

To say that both officers and privates were indignant is expressing it too mildly. They were mad, almost fighting mad. A war of words between Col. Tuttle and Gen. Hamilton failed to procure a revocation of the order. It was an outrage. It was like hanging a man for murder on suspicion—on public rumors, without the intervention of judge or jury. It was punishing a thousand men for what but a few could possibly be guilty, and in the absence of proof that even one of that thousand was guilty.

The privates who took the few articles from the museum were regarded as vile culprits, while the officers who took the whole college, museum and all from its Rebel owner were regarded as patriotic heroes.

Col. Tuttle appealed to Gen. Halleck for justice, and all the response he could get from him was, "Go to the front; Gen. Grant shall give you a fighting chance, and no man will, if you prove heroes, be so quick to let the country know it as myself." They "went to the front." They "got a fighting chance." Through the abattis, up the steep ascent and over the intrenchments of Donelson, in the face of a furious storm of iron hail and leaden rain, with comrades falling all around them, they carried that flag till it was proudly, triumphantly planted on the intrenchments from which the Rebels had been driven, and there it was permitted to wave over the humiliating white flag of capitulated foes.

On its way there, Color-bearer Doolittle falls pierced

with four balls. The disgraced banner is then taken by Corporal Page, who soon falls dead. Again it was raised by Corporal Churcher, who had the strong right arm that bore it broken by a ball. It was then grasped by Corporal Twombly, who, though knocked down by a spent ball, arose and gallantly carried the glorious banner to the end of the fight. Thus in less than a week from the time it was in disgrace at St. Louis that disgrace was wiped out in a blaze of glory by the brave boys, of whose courage and valor it was a proud emblem.

True to his promise, Gen. Halleck let the country know the boys had "proved themselves heroes," for only three days after the battle he telegraphed Adjutant-General Baker, "The Second Iowa Infantry proved themselves the bravest of the brave. They had the honor of leading the column that entered Fort Donelson."

No one felt more keenly the reproach heaped upon this regiment than did Governor Kirkwood, and he wrote to Gen. Hamilton as follows:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, IOWA, }
DES MOINES, Feb. 17, 1862. }

*Schuyler Hamilton, Brigadier-General, Vols., U. S. A.,
Commanding St. Louis Dist., St. Louis, Mo.:*

SIR—I received your letter of the 10th inst., enclosing special Nos. 28 and 30, dated on the 9th and 10th inst., in relation to the Second Regiment Iowa Infantry. The former of these orders commends that regiment very highly for their conduct to certain prisoners that were for a long time in their custody. The latter is intended to throw dishonorable reflection thereon on account of the robbing and destruction committed by its members on the museum.

After mature reflection, I cannot consent to retain these orders in my possession or to place them on the files of this department, and therefore return them with the letters enclosing them. My reasons for so doing are that by retaining and filing these orders I would, to some extent, admit the justness of the imputations contained in the latter order. This I cannot do, and there is, therefore, no other course open for me to pursue than the one indicated. The good name of her soldiers is very dear to the people of Iowa, and undeserved disgrace shall not by any act of mine attach to this or any other regiment or to

any individual of the brave men she has sent out to fight the battles of the country.

It appears, both from the order itself and your letter, that but a very few members of the regiment *could* have been guilty of the acts on which the order was based, and it does not appear but that persons entirely outside the regiment *may* have committed these acts. There are very many members of that regiment whose standing socially, morally and intellectually is equal to yours or mine, who feel an imputation upon their honor as keenly as either of us can do, and I must be permitted to say that, in my judgment, it is harsh and cruel to subject them to the pain of humiliation and disgrace in consequence of acts not committed by themselves and the commission of which by others they could not prevent. The feeling produced by undeserved punishment is never a healthy one and cannot produce desirable results. * * *

I trust that measures may be taken to relieve the regiment from the imputation cast upon it.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

Governor Kirkwood also wrote Gen. Halleck in regard to it. But the blood of the brave boys who bore it blotted out the stain upon their banner more completely than a deluge of ink from the pen of a major-general could possibly do it.

During the session of the Legislature the flag was delivered by Col. Tuttle to Hon. R. D. Kellogg, a member of the House, who was one of the three persons sent to Fort Donelson to look after the wounded and sick soldiers, with the injunction that it be placed over the Speaker's chair till the end of the session and then be deposited in the archives of the State Historical Society.

The presentation was made with imposing ceremonies. The Senate in a body and the United States officers were invited to be present.

The Sergeant-at-Arms announced "His Excellency the Governor and his staff bearing the flag," and upon their entrance the audience arose to their feet.

His Excellency then proceeded to the Speaker's desk and thereupon presented the flag to the Speaker with the following remarks:

Mr. Speaker:—The Second Iowa Regiment have sent by the commission that visited Fort Donelson to look after our wounded soldiers there, the flag borne by them on that bloody but glorious day, when our troops first entered that stronghold of rebellion, with the request that it hang over your chair until the adjournment and then be deposited in the State Historical Society, and I have been selected to perform the very pleasant duty of presenting the flag to you in accordance with that request.

I have been on the ground over which our brave men bore this flag on that trying day. I have traced their steps over that battlefield, and it will always be a marvel to me that human hearts and human hands could have borne it as it was borne, proudly and defiantly, amid the terrible difficulties and the storm of battle it there breasted and overcame. But the men who bore it were the men of Iowa. They had strong hands and brave hearts, they knew that the hopes and fears, the prayers and tears of fair women and brave men went with them, they knew they fought for God and their country, and they conquered, and the flag I now present, first among all borne by loyal hands, waved in triumph over the entrenchments of Fort Donelson. This is not the flag of a regiment merely, nor does it bear the arms of our State, it is the flag of our country, it bears upon its folds Stars and Stripes, *all* the Stars and *all* the Stripes, the same old flag bequeathed to us by our forefathers, very dear to us both because of those from whom it came and of what it has given us, and which we intend, God willing, to transmit to our children with never a star or stripe the less. It symbolizes to us not only the ardent patriotism, the patience, endurance and the fiery valor of those who bore it first of all over the entrenchments of Fort Donelson, but, more and better, it symbolizes to us the virtues of those who formed it, the blessings it has secured to us and the dearest hopes for liberty throughout the world.

I now commit it to your hands. But by this pageant we have not discharged our trust and duty. We owe it to the flag, and to the brave men who have borne it and died for it, that we devote all we have, hearts, hands, minds and means, to the good cause till it shall again wave over our country and our people.

The speaker, Hon. Rush Clark, received the flag, suspended it over his chair, and responded as follows:

Hail to the flag of our country! Emblem of our nation's glory, the honored escutcheon of a free people! Let our flag wave evermore, with all the Stars and all the Stripes! What tongue can now add to its renown? What mere words tell of the achievements written upon its ample folds? Who, of men so high as to refuse our flag his reverence? What nation so proud or powerful as to dare insult it?

Hail to the flag of the Iowa Second, thrice honorable! so gallantly upheld, so nobly defended. Who would blush to be its future custodians?

Sir, to say in behalf of the members of this House that we are flattered by this lofty work of the confidence of Iowa soldiers, they too the bravest of the brave," would but meanly convey to you and them the depth of intense pride which this token brings us. We are proud that the State which we represent has such a regiment as that which followed and defended this flag. We are proud that the people who sent us here have sent to the field such sons and brothers as answer to the muster rolls of the Iowa Second. We are proud, too, that they are a portion of the constituency we serve. Permit us, sir, through you, to say to the gallant officers and soldiers of the Iowa Second that we accept this earnest of their regard as a thing priceless as our honor. We have been taught from our infancy to regard this symbol of our nationality with the respect due from loyal and patriotic men. We have looked upon it in boyhood and in manhood as the token of our liberties. We have read upon it the consecrated history of a revolutionary struggle for freedom, blood stained and full of woe to our suffering forefathers. We have learned how the tri-colored banner was first flung to a summer's breeze under the shadow of Bunker Hill, and we have followed it in history through many mighty struggles, and we never found it trailed in the dust of dishonor. It remained for the volunteer soldiery of our gallant State to add to the familiar list we read upon its folds those other names, "Wilson's Creek," "Blue Mills," "Belmont," and last but most significant, "Donelson."

The va'orous deeds of the Iowa Second are already a part of our national history and make up one of its most brilliant pages. It would be vain to rehearse them now. The unfaltering onset of these gallant men is written in the sleepless memory of a million free men. Nothing can be abated, none of their achievements forgotten.

This standard is no idle curiosity, no mere relic of the past. Its folds, riddled by the murderous lead of rifles of an enemy poisoned by the hate that only a fratricidal foe can feel, tell of scenes of carnage that have few parallels, and of dauntless, unflinching bravery that challenges the history of the world. We only know that the unwavering advance of the Iowa Second at Donelson was as resistless as the sweep of the tornado.

These glorious colors were borne forward amidst the leaden rain, no man faltering, no man fearing, but still pressing forward in the face of a stubborn and desperate foe, till the brave work was done and the splendid charge rewarded with a prize significant of the highest vindication of our country and our cause.

Here the human heart bids us pause to speak of those who have followed the flag of our country for the last time. Who would not die

as they? A grateful country has given them a hallowed and undying memory, and a generous State mourns for them in public silence. They are enshrined in the great heart of a free people.

Sir, we will see that these colors are handed down to the free men who will come after us, as a precious part of our State's proud history. Let these colors be as sacred to them as "the last bequest of a sainted mother!" Let the gallant volunteers in all coming time draw from the memory that clings to these colors, the spirit of the heroic men that followed them to find a soldier's grave before the entrenchments of the enemies of their country's liberties. May the grey haired old man pause uncovered at the niche where this flag may be pointed out, and let him there relate to the youth beside him the events which rendered these colors immortal. Let that youth be told of the generous love a loyal State bears to its gallant soldiery, and let him there be taught "to defend the flag and obey the Constitution of his country."

The exercises were concluded by singing the "Star Spangled Banner."

On the 24th of March the Governor writes Senator Grimes in Washington:

"How about our Brigadiers? You know I long ago recommended Crocker, Dodge and Perczel and I yet think them among our best colonels as you will find when they are tried. Dodge *has* been tried at Pea Ridge and has turned out just as I expected. I think him one of the very best military men in the State. Has Lauman been appointed? He acted manfully at Belmont and deserves it. Tuttle's charge at Donelson is one of the most brilliant of this or any other war. I have been on the ground he charged over, and I believe that none but Iowa troops could have done it. Vandever did nobly at Pea Ridge, so far as I have learned, and all our colonels and all our men will do the same as they get the chance.

"Can't we get some more Brigadiers? What is the situation about Washington generally? Don't things look more hopeful? Take time to write me a long letter showing just how things stand. I thank you for your speech on the navy and the gallant Foote. He is a man all over."

After the battle of Pittsburg Landing he visited that place to look after the care of sick and wounded soldiers, and see that they had proper attention.

Writing to Col. M. M. Crocker, a month afterward, he says:

Dear Col.:—My nephew, Lieut. W. W. Kirkwood, is at my house very sick. His recovery is very doubtful, his disease typhoid fever

arising from camp diarrhea contracted at Fort Donelson. But for this I would have been in Washington and urged your promotion personally. I have written the President and our delegation in your favor.

Permit me to congratulate you on your conduct at Pittsburg Landing. Every one speaks of you in the highest terms and none more highly than I am satisfied you deserve. I think nothing will prevent your promotion, unless it be determination not to appoint any more Brigadiers.

About the same time he writes Col. Add H. Sanders of the Sixteenth:

"I have not any fear for you or the regiment. I did not, however, suppose the regiment would have done as well as it did under the circumstances, as new as it was, without any opportunity for regimental drill, without any experience in the use of arms, it is a wonder to me they stood at all, but Iowa pluck carried them through as it did the Fifteenth. Say to the boys one and all, I am delighted with them and expect to hear further from them in the next battle. I am fearful in regard to their health. I hope you will insist on the line officers giving personal attention to everything that may tend to prevent sickness this is very important, and I sometimes fear a much neglected part of their duty."

To Gen. Schofield, commanding United States and Missouri State troops, he writes in relation to troubles on Iowa's southern border:

"Yours in regard to escaped criminals in this State is received. From a letter received from Governor Gamble I am led to believe he will not make any effort for their reclamation.

"You may rest assured that the civil officers of the United States shall receive all the assistance in my power to give them, and I trust the proper steps may be taken to that end. We cannot understand here why men who are guilty of the greatest crimes committed since Christ was crucified, should be permitted to live in peace and quietness with those whose brothers and sons they have murdered. Trusting you will take such steps as may be necessary, I remain

"Very respectfully your obedient servant,

"SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD."

His Excellency the President:—By reason of my absence from home the telegraphic dispatch of Gov. Morgan, requesting my signature to the letter of the governors of the loyal States to you, requesting you to call for three hundred thousand more volunteers, did not reach me until the 5th inst., too late to permit me to attach my name to the letter. But for this my name would have accompanied those of the governors

of the other States, and I now assure you that the State of Iowa in the future as in the past, will be prompt and ready to do her duty to the country in the time of sore trial. Our harvest is just upon us, and we have now scarcely men enough to save our crops, but if need be our women can help harvest them. I am anxiously awaiting the requisition of the Secretary of War. I will be in Washington next week, when I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

Iowa City, July 7, 1862.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, }
July 9, 1862. }

PROCLAMATION OF THE GOVERNOR.

To the People of Iowa:—I have this day received from the Secretary of War a telegram, requesting me to raise as soon as practicable for the United States service, for three years or during the war, five regiments of volunteer infantry, being a part of the quota of this State under the late call of the President for 300,000 men.

The preservation of the Union, the perpetuity of our government, the honor of our State, demand that this requisition be promptly met.

Our harvest is upon us and we have feared a lack of force to secure it, but we must imitate our brave Iowa boys in the field, meet new emergencies with new exertions. Our old men and boys unfit for war, and if need be our women, must help to gather our harvest, while those able to bear arms go forth to aid their brave brethren in the field. The necessity is urgent. Our national escutcheon is at stake. The more promptly the President is furnished these needed troops, the more speedily will this unholy rebellion be crushed, and the blessings of peace again visit our land. Until then we must expect the hardships and privations of war. The time has come when men must make, as many have already made, sacrifices of ease, comfort and business for the cause of the country. The enemy by a sweeping conscription have forced into their ranks all men capable of bearing arms. Our Government has as yet relied upon the voluntary action of our citizens, but if need be the same energies must be exerted to preserve our government that traitors are using to destroy it.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

TELEGRAM.

DAVENPORT, August 11, 1862.

Hon. Edwin Stanton, Secretary of War:— * * * I will have ten regiments instead of five under your requisition of July 8th. They will be full this week. You must accept them as volunteers. They en-

listed to avoid the disgrace of a draft, as they consider it, and it will not do to refuse them. Answer at once.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

TELEGRAM.

DAVENPORT, August 20, 1862.

Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War:—1st. There are enough companies now full and that will be filled by the 23rd, to fill eighteen to twenty regiments. Our whole State appears to be volunteering.

2nd. The companies are now coming into rendezvous as rapidly as I can furnish blankets for them. Could have them all in next week if I had blankets, and could build quarters fast enough. Have blankets for only five regiments.

3d. I don't want any further time than the 23d. All I want is to put into regiments all the companies full on that day. If I don't get this permission I will have to volunteer myself and leave the State.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

In filling up the last regiment there was a surplus of one company, and the question was which one of the eleven was to be the supernumerary and be left at home, for all wanted to go. In making a speech to them, the Governor said he was in as bad a dilemma as one of his old Ohio friends found himself. A couple of brothers by the name of James and Joseph Jenkins were living together, James newly married and Joseph single. In process of time James' wife spent her leisure moments in making small clothes for a young stranger whom she expected to come and live with her. During a temporary absence of the bachelor brother, the little stranger arrived, and his little twin brother came with him. On Joseph's return he found his brother in a state of great excitement almost going crazy, and he says, "What's the matter Jim, ain't Sally doing well?" "Yes, Sally's doing well enough." "Is anything wrong with the baby?" "No the baby's all right." "Well, what's the matter then?" "Matter! matter enough, Sall's got two babies and she's got clothes for only one of them."

Now, says the Governor, you can appreciate my dilemma in calling for only ten companies and getting eleven when I have places and clothes for only ten.

PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR.

The quota of this State of the 300,000 volunteers called for by the President on the 2d of July last is 10,570.

The quota of this State of the 300,000 militia required to be drafted by order of the President 4th of August instant is 10,570.

The quota of the first call is over full by the prompt and patriotic response of our people within the last few weeks. I am satisfied that from fifteen to twenty thousand men are now organized into companies awaiting organization into new regiments, and I am urging upon the War Department the acceptance of the whole number, and that our State be credited with the excess upon the second call for drafted men. But the War Department refuses, as yet, to give us such credit until the number of men required to fill the old regiments (8,005) shall have been furnished.

These men for the old regiments are sorely needed, and the cause of the country is better served by filling the old regiments than by raising new ones.

The officers and men of the old regiments have gained a knowledge of their duties by experience in the field, and new recruits joining their regiments have the benefit of this knowledge gained by their officers and comrades. An old regiment filled up with new recruits is more effective at the end of two weeks than a new regiment at the end of two months. In order, then, to get the credit due our State for the excess furnished over the first call, and in order to give the country this most effective assistance and sorely-needed help, we must fill up the old regiments. We can do this by volunteering until the first of September. If not done by that time the deficiency will be supplied by special draft, in addition to the draft under the second call.

I appeal, then, to every man for aid. Let everything else be laid aside until this needed work is done. Let the young men whose brothers and friends are in the old regiments take their places by their sides. Any person desiring to enter an old regiment can select the regiment and company he chooses, and then go with his acquaintances and friends.

So deeply am I impressed with the imperative necessity of filling the old regiments that I will, at the extra session of the General Assembly to convene on the third day of September, recommend to that body the creation of a State bounty, of such sum as may be deemed advisable, to all persons who shall, before the first day of September next, enlist in any one of the old regiments of this State.

I also earnestly advise all companies now incomplete, and which will not certainly be completed by the 23d instant, to abandon their attempt at organization as companies and enlist for the old regiments. * * *

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

In a postscript of a letter to the President August 21st, the Governor writes:

"I am satisfied Iowa has to-day not less than eighteen, and, I believe, twenty, new regiments ready for organization, in addition to the twenty-one now in the field. S. J. K."

This would make 40,000 men raised in the State in sixteen months, and this number reached 50,000 before the first day of January following.

Writing to Geo. W. Handy, an orderly sergeant, he says:

"I have just received a letter, signed by some others and yourself, in regard to what you call 'State pay.' I confess to some surprise at the tenor of your letter, but overlook it in view of the fact that you were doubtless misled. Let me state the facts. Last year the United States paid the soldiers, not from the date of enlistment, but from the date of mustering in of the regiment, and the State paid from the date of enlistment up to the date of the muster. The effect of this was that the soldiers had to take State warrants ('State Shin-plasters') for that portion of their pay and sell them for what they could get and stand the 'shave.' I did not think this was best for the boys and, with others, tried to have it changed and succeeded in doing so, so that now the soldiers get their pay from the United States *from the day of enlistment*, and of course get it *in money* and not in 'Shin-plasters.' There is no time for which the State has to pay, because the United States pay from *the very first day of enlistment*. For what time, then, is the State to pay you? This arrangement is much better for the soldier and much worse for the 'shaver'—the soldier gets all money and the 'shaver' has no chance at him. The officers are not so well cared for; their pay commences at the day of their muster, and they are compelled to take 'State Shin-plasters' for what is due them before the time.

"I trust you will from this statement see that you have been entirely too hasty in charging me or any one else with neglect of your interest. Permit me to say there is too much disposition to charge wrong on others without a careful examination to know whether it is deserved. You will all learn, I hope, that others may be as honest and as patriotic as yourselves, and that it is possible for you to be mistaken in views hastily adopted. Whether any one has purposely misled you in this matter, I, of course, do not know.

"One thing further. You threaten to vote the Democratic ticket. Now, you must at all times do just as you please about that. You have as much interest in the government as I have. I don't vote the Democratic ticket because I think the Democratic party is wrong. If

I thought it was right, I would vote that ticket. You must judge for yourselves and vote as you think right on all occasions; but allow me to repeat the caution that you do not arrive at conclusions too hastily, and that you don't allow yourselves to be misled by designing men to vote the Democratic or any other ticket. If you can stand the success of the Democracy, I will try to do so too.

"When you write again, don't take it for granted that everything is wrong till you learn all the facts.

"Very respectfully,

"SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD."

On the 3d of September the General Assembly met in special session. Hon. Rush Clark addressed the House as follows:

*"Gentlemen of the House of Representatives :—*The hour has arrived at which it becomes my duty to call you to order. I will not delay your proceedings by a word. While the safety of our beloved country hangs in a trembling balance, let us do well, but quickly, what the interests of a common constituency demand. When a million bayonets are clashing about the nation's heart, our words may well be few. The mighty issue still is: 'Have we a government?' Before our adjournment here that issue may be decided forever. Let us do our duty to the Commonwealth and trust the God of Nations for the result. We are ready to perfect the organization of the House."

That being accomplished the following message was read:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, Sept. 3, 1862.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives :

You have been convened in extraordinary session to consider some questions vitally affecting the public welfare, which, in my judgment, require your immediate action.

When you closed your last regular session, the belief prevailed very generally that the strength of the rebellion against the General Government had been broken, and your legislation upon some questions of great public interest was controlled by that belief. The lapse of time has shown that belief to be erroneous, and a change of legislation on those questions has therefore become necessary.

The provision made for our sick and wounded soldiers, and for their return to their homes on furlough, will, under existing circumstances, prove wholly inadequate. The largely increased number of our soldiers that will be shortly in the field, and the great length of time they will be exposed to the danger of disease and the casualties of battle, will render absolutely necessary a large increase of the fund provided for their care and comfort. The extraordinary expenses of

my office have also been, and will probably continue to be, largely increased in consequence of the new demands that have been and may be made upon the State. I, therefore, recommend to your favorable consideration such increase of the contingent fund for extraordinary expenses of this office as will be sufficient to enable me to do for the gallant men, who so nobly represent our State in the army of the Union, when suffering from wounds and disease, that which every loyal heart so anxiously desires should be done, and also enable me to carry on successfully the many and arduous labors imposed upon this office, in promptly responding to all the demands made upon the State for the support of the Government.

The labors of the office of Adjutant-General have been largely increased, and must continue to be very great as long as the war lasts, and for some time after its close. This State will soon have in the field nearly or quite 50,000 men, and the interest and welfare of our soldiers and their friends require that the records of that office should be fully and carefully kept. The Adjutant-General now discharges, in addition to the proper duties of that office, the duties of Quartermaster-General and Paymaster-General. It is, in my judgment, impossible for one officer properly to superintend the labors of these three departments. The amount of labor and attention required is more than one person can give, and the necessary work cannot be so promptly done or so well done as if there was a proper division of labor. I recommend that I should be authorized to appoint an assistant Adjutant-General, who shall act as Paymaster-General. A Quartermaster-General can be appointed under existing law, and then the duties now imposed upon the Adjutant-General can be so divided and arranged as, in my judgment, to greatly benefit the public service.

In my judgment, the compensation of the Adjutant-General is not adequate, either to the labor or responsibility of his position, and I recommend an addition thereto, either by allowing him a contingent for traveling expenses or by an increase of his salary.

Congress has provided by law an allotment system by which our soldiers can set aside a portion of their monthly pay and have the same paid at their homes to such persons as they may designate, without risk or expense. The benefits of this system are obvious and great. Commissioners have been appointed by the President, but under the law the compensation of these commissioners must be paid by the States, and as no appropriation has been made for that purpose, our soldiers and their friends have not, as yet, enjoyed the benefits of the system. One of the commissioners is now engaged in procuring the allotments of our regiments before they leave the State, and I earnestly recommend such an appropriation as will secure the benefits of this system to all our soldiers.

Since your adjournment Congress has passed a law donating public

lands to such of the several States and territories as may provide colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts. Under this law, this State is entitled to a donation of 240,000 acres of land. It is a most munificent donation, and for a most worthy purpose. It is of great importance that immediate action be had by you touching this grant. By taking such action the State can secure the entire amount of the lands within her own limits, and consequently control their management and disposition. Should action in this matter be postponed till the next regular session, other States may select their lands within the limits of this State, and manage and dispose of them in a manner very undesirable to us. I recommend the subject to your careful consideration. * * *

It is of the highest importance that the numerical strength of the regiments from this State be maintained in the field. Many of our old regiments have been much reduced in numbers, and thus the expense of maintaining them in proportion to their numbers is much increased, while their efficiency is much diminished. Our new regiments will go out full, and the old ones will soon be filled, but in a short time their numbers will be again reduced. To remedy this evil, I recommend that with the approval of the proper Federal authorities a camp of instruction be established at some suitable point in this State sufficient to accommodate 1,000 men; that the several counties be required to furnish their equitable proportion of that number of men to place in camp under instruction; that when men are needed to fill the ranks of any of our regiments, requisitions be made for the proper number which shall be filled as nearly as may be from the men in camp from the counties in which the companies composing the regiment were organized, and their places in camp be immediately supplied by new men from the same counties. This is entirely just to all the counties; will send the men into companies composed of their neighbors and friends, and will keep up our regiments to their effective strength.

On the 17th day of August I issued a proclamation urging upon our people the strong necessity of filling up our old regiments, and as an inducement to enlistments for that purpose declared my intention of recommending to you the payment of bounties by the State to all who should enlist for the old regiments, between the date of proclamation and the first day of the present month. I have not yet learned the number of men who have thus enlisted between the dates named, but I recommend to you that an appropriation for the purpose of paying to each of them such bounty as you may deem advisable.

The theory of our government is that the people rule. This theory can be carried into practical effect only through the ballot box. Thereby the people mould and direct the operations of the government and settle all questions affecting the public welfare. The right of suffrage is therefore highly prized by all good citizens, and should

be exercised by them at all times, and especially at times when questions of grave importance are presented for solution. There never has been, perhaps there never will again be a time when questions so important, interests so vital as those now demanding action at the hands of our people were, or will be submitted to them. The very life of the nation is at stake, and may be as fatally lost at the ballot box as on the battlefield. Under such circumstances it is not only the right but the duty of all good citizens to exercise the right of suffrage, and to see to it that the principles for the preservation of which our people are so freely offering their treasure and life, are not jeopardized, are not lost in the halls of legislation—State or National. A very large number of the electors of the State are in the army. We say but little when we say that these men are as good citizens, as intelligent, as patriotic, as devoted to their country, as those who remain at home. Under existing laws these citizens cannot vote, and unless these laws can be changed it may be that the same cause they are periling life in the field to maintain, may be lost at home through supineness or treachery. I therefore recommend that the laws be so modified that all members of Iowa regiments, who would be entitled to vote if at home on the day of election, be allowed to vote wherever they may be stationed in the United States, and that provision be made for receiving and canvassing their votes.

There are in this State some religious bodies who entertain peculiar views on the subject of bearing arms, and whose religious opinions conscientiously entertained preclude their doing so. Their members are generally among our most quiet, orderly and industrious and peaceful citizens, and their sympathies are wholly with the government in this struggle now going on for its preservation, yet they cannot conscientiously bear arms in its support. It appears to me it would be unjust and wholly useless to force such men into the army as soldiers, and yet it would not be just to the government or to other citizens that they should be wholly relieved from the burdens that others have to bear. I suggest therefore that these persons who cannot conscientiously render military duty be exempted therefrom in case of draft upon payment of a fixed sum of money to be paid to the State.

Startling rumors have recently reached me of danger to our people on the northwestern frontier from hostile Indians. I immediately despatched Schuyler R. Ingham of Des Moines to the scene of danger with arms and ammunition and full authority to act as circumstances might require. I have not yet had a report from him, but will immediately upon receipt of such report communicate with you by special message should the emergency require your attention.

The condition of the country is such as justly to cause anxiety and distrust, but not despondency to the patriot. It is true the rebellion

against the government has assumed a magnitude and shown a strength we did not anticipate, but it is also true that the government has exhibited a degree of power for its suppression that the most sanguine did not dream of. Our rulers and our people have at last realized the extent of the task before them, and have girded themselves to the work like men. We have all, rulers and people, at last learned, on a page all blotted with tears and blood, that in this war conciliation and kindness are more than useless, and that the enemy, whose social fabric is based upon force, respects only force, and can be subdued by force alone. We are learning, if we have not yet learned, that it is wise to strike the enemy where he is weakest, and to strike him there continually and with all our power, that God's blessing upon our cause will surely bring its triumph, and that we cannot with confidence claim that blessing until our cause by being made in all things like Him—pure and holy, fully deserves it. If we have fully learned these lessons, and shall fairly act upon them, we will soon triumph. If we have not learned them we will yet do so and we will then triumph.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

Such was his anxiety to have all done for the soldiers that could be, that on the 10th of September the Governor sent in the following special message:

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:

The burthens of the war now being waged by our people for the preservation of our government bear heavily on us, and should be borne as equally as possible. These burthens are of two kinds: First, that of military duty in the field, and second, that of taxation at home. It seems to me to be unequal and unfair that those of us who bear the first of these burthens should be compelled to share with those of us who remain at home the second; that the soldiers who are fighting our battles in the field should also be compelled to pay their share of taxes equally with those who do not share their perils and privations.

The compensation paid to those of our soldiers who hold commissions is sufficiently liberal to enable them to pay their taxes without inconvenience, but it is not so with their no less worthy, but less fortunate comrades. It would be a just recognition by us of our appreciation of the patriotism and self-sacrifice of the latter, if we were to release them during their services from all taxes levied under State laws and it doubtless would be news of comfort and cheer to them amid the dangers and trials by which they are surrounded for our sakes, that we be careful that the houses that sheltered their wives and little ones had been secured from danger of sale for taxes, by our voluntary assumption of their share of the one burthen, while they are bravely bearing our share of the other. I there-

fore recommend to you that you pass a law exempting from all taxation under the laws of the State the real and personal property of all non-commissioned officers and privates in the regiments of this State in the army of the United States during their continuance in service, and that for the current year there be added to the per centum of taxation upon the valuation of the property of all the other tax payers the sum of one-fourth of one mill on each dollar of such valuation to cover the deficiency in revenue created thereby.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.



CHAPTER XII.

Laws Passed—Meeting of Loyal Governors—Iowa's Quota Filled Without Drafting—Thanksgiving Proclamation—Battle of Corinth—Iowa Regiments Engaged—Letter to Col. Crocker—To Surgeon Cochran—To Gen. Herron—Governor's Anxiety for Sick Soldiers—Writes Secretary of War in Their Behalf—Knights of Golden Circle—Proclamation—Writes Secretary of War Again.

At this session of the Legislature the most important bills passed were, one prompted by the horrid massacre by Indians in Minnesota, for the protection of the northwestern frontier from hostile Indians; one permitting counties to pay bounties for enlistments, and to aid in the support of the families of enlisted soldiers; one for the reorganization and discipline of the militia; one for the appointment of sanitary agents; one appropriating \$30,000 for the extraordinary expenses of the Executive Department and the relief of sick and wounded soldiers, and one providing for taking the vote at certain State elections of the qualified voters who are absent from the State in the military service of the State. Much was done under the law toward organizing and disciplining the militia at home, and much was done for the relief of the families of enlisted soldiers, and a vast amount of good was accomplished by the sanitary agents in providing sanitary stores and forwarding them to the sick and wounded soldiers in hospital and in camp. These agents were the ministering angels of mercy that tempered and relieved the rugged and cruel asperities of war.

At this extra session, in the appropriation bill was an item or two which did not meet with the Governor's favor, and when the bill had been passed and was presented to him for his signature, a personal friend and an eyewitness of the transaction says, "For once I saw the usually good natured

Governor thoroughly mad. There was a dishonest drain made on the treasury by this bill which he wanted to stop, but could not well do it, as the General Assembly was on the very eve of adjournment.”

Governor Kirkwood was one of the loyal Governors who met at Altoona, and the following is his account of that meeting and their subsequent interview with the President, written as it purports to be for the “Iowa Historical Record,” and published in that journal in the January number, 1892.

In relation to the draft which was resorted to to raise our quota of troops, I quote from an article written for the Iowa Historical Record by Mr. N. H. Brainerd, Military Secretary.

THE LOYAL GOVERNORS AT ALTOONA IN 1862.

Editor Iowa Historical Record:

MY DEAR SIR:—In accordance with your request I hand you herewith a brief history of the convention of the Governors of the loyal States held at Altoona, Penn., in September, 1862. The convention met in response to a circular sent to its members by Gov. Curtin of Pennsylvania, signed by himself, and as I now recollect by the Governor of one or two of the other Eastern States. Part of its doings is shown in its address to the President, prepared by Gov. Andrew of Massachusetts, and published at the time; and another part consisted of an interview with the President, which so far as I know has not hitherto been made public, a brief and incomplete statement of which I now endeavor to supply.

Sometime during the first half of September, 1862, I received a circular, signed by Gov. Curtin of Pennsylvania and one or two other Governors of States east of the Alleghanies, requesting the Governors* of all the loyal States to meet at Altoona, Penn., for consultation in regard to the then critical condition of public affairs. I felt it my duty to attend the meeting and did so. Most of the Governors of the loyal States attended personally or by proxies duly authenticated. I arrived on the 22d day of September, and those present met on that day in private session and conversed freely touching the condition of the country. I got the New York papers of that day either at Creston, a station west of Altoona, or at Altoona, and was delighted to find

*Those who met were A. G. Curtin, Penn.; John A. Andrew, Mass.; Richard Yates, Ill.; Israel Washburne, Jr., Me.; Edward Solomon, Wis.; Samuel J. Kirkwood, Ia.; O. P. Morton, (by D. G. Rose) Ind.; Wm. Sprague, R. I.; F. H. Pierrepont, Va.; David Tod, O.; N. S. Berry, N. H.; Austin Blair, Mich.

therein the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln. It was afterwards claimed by some people that the Proclamation was not the deliberate judgment of the President, but that he was largely influenced in issuing it by the action of our convention. This is a mistake, as the Proclamation was published before we met.

The Proclamation was freely discussed by us. Its issuance by the President was heartily approved by most if not all present, and it was resolved that an address to the President should be prepared for presentation to him expressing that approval. Gov. Andrew was appointed to prepare the address and he did so. We then discussed the condition of military affairs and especially the fitness of Gen. McClellan for military command. On this point there was some difference of opinion, but my recollection is that a decided majority were of opinion that the public welfare would be promoted by his retirement from the command of the Army of the Potomac. But as there was not the same accord of opinion on this point as there was in regard to the Emancipation Proclamation, it was decided that the address to be prepared by Gov. Andrew should not include any expression of opinion in regard to Gen. McClellan, and that we should go to Washington and have an interview with the President, at which such of us as choose so to do might say what we thought on that subject. We went to Washington accordingly and an interview was arranged for, at which Gov. Andrew read the address to President Lincoln, to which he made a suitable reply. This interview was private at our request, because we thought as we were not in full accord it would be better not to make public our difference of opinion. Several of us expressed our opinions in regard to Gen. McClellan, some favorable and some not favorable. Among others I gave my opinion very decidedly unfavorable. I cannot give the names of those on the one side or the other or the reasons assigned by any of them, nor can I undertake to use the language used by myself, merely the substance of it. In order to understand my position it is necessary to explain my understanding of the position of the country at the time. I did not know Gen. McClellan personally, we had never met. All I knew of him was what I had learned from others and the public prints, and it may be I did him injustice, but I think not. I did know Mr. Lincoln personally, not intimately, but I think thoroughly. He was, in my judgment, next to Washington, the greatest man our country has produced. In private life he was genial, gentle and kindly. As a public man rigidly honest, exceptionally intelligent, earnest, unselfish, brave and devoted to the preservation of the Union.

What progress had been made in September, 1862, in putting down the rebellion? In the west our armies had done some good work; we held the Mississippi down to Memphis, and the navy had captured and held New Orleans, thus leaving Vicksburg and Port Hudson the only

obstacles to the free navigation of that great river. These obstacles were removed by the capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson in July of the next year and the Confederacy deprived of the vast resources of the rebel territory west of the river. Our western armies had fought the battles of Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Pea Ridge, Corinth and Wilson's Creek, and covered themselves with glory.

What had the army of the Potomac done? It had done as much and as hard fighting as the western armies but with what result? If the results were not glorious and profitable the fault was not with the soldiers; where was it? I then thought and still think it was with the commander. He was often in a quarrel with the President, the Cabinet and the Radicals, as he called a large portion of the Republican members of Congress. He seemed to think the salvation of the country depended on him alone and was continually complaining. When urged to make a forward movement long before he did he insisted that his troops were raw, undisciplined and not properly equipped, but did not remember that our troops in the west were as raw and undisciplined, and more poorly equipped than his, and yet did great things. The Army of the Potomac had the first and best of everything and our western armies had what was left. The army of the Potomac was better and sooner armed, better clothed, better equipped in every way than our western armies. The public position I then held compelled me to know it, and I was sometimes angry, and I fear at times a little profane about it, and yet our western troops were always doing something and McClellan was only getting ready.

It was with this knowledge and in this temper I had the conversation with President Lincoln, which I am about to relate. After the reading of our address by Governor Andrew and the President's reply, I said to the President that I spoke only for our Iowa people; that, in their judgment, Gen. McClellan was unfit to command his army; that his army was well clothed, well armed, well disciplined, were fighting in a cause as good as men ever fought for, and fought as bravely as men ever fought, and yet were continually whipped, and our people did not think he was a good general who was always whipped. Mr. Lincoln smiled in his genial way and said, "You Iowa people, then, judge generals as you do lawyers, by their success in trying cases." I replied, "Yes, something like that; the lawyer who is always losing his cases, especially when he was right and had justice on his side, don't get much practice in Iowa." After some further talk in the same vein I spoke upon another point, in which I felt intense interest and upon which I had some fear my remarks would not be received in the same spirit. But I thought I knew Mr. Lincoln well enough to know that he would not take offense unless he had cause to believe offense was intended, and I thought he knew me well enough to know I would not intend to offend him. I

said, "Mr. President, our Iowa people fear and I fear that the Administration is afraid to remove Gen. McClellan." I saw the color come to his cheek, and felt that I had blundered and I hastened to explain. "Understand me," I said, "we fear that the strong efforts made by Gen. McClellan and his toadies in the army to attach his soldiers to him personally, and their efforts and the efforts of a certain class of politicians outside the army to cause his soldiers to believe that the severe criticisms to which the General has been subjected, are intended to apply to them (the soldiers) as well as to him (their commander) have so prejudiced his soldiers' minds as to make it unsafe to remove him for fear his removal might cause insubordination, perhaps mutiny. That is what I meant when I spoke of your being afraid to remove him." And it was precisely what I meant, although I had blundered in not saying just what I meant. Mr. Lincoln was silent for a brief space, and then he said slowly and with emphasis, "Governor Kirkwood, if I believed our cause would be benefited by removing Gen. McClellan to-morrow, I would remove him to-morrow. I do not so believe to-day, but if the time shall come when I shall so believe, I will remove him promptly, and not till then." I felt and expressed myself perfectly satisfied, for I knew he meant and would do just what he said; and so ended our interview, so far as I was concerned.

In reviewing at this late day the then situation, one thing is strongly impressed on my mind: Gen. McClellan was or tried to be too much of a politician and not enough of a soldier. His Harrison Bar letter, indeed his whole history as written by himself, I think shows this. It was a happy day for our country when Grant, Sherman, Sheridan and Thomas, who were, and were content to be, soldiers and did not aspire to be politicians as well, devoted themselves to whipping the Rebel armies and left the management of our political affairs to those to whom the people had entrusted it.

S. J. KIRKWOOD.

Iowa City, Dec. 20, 1891.

In relation to the draft which was resorted to to raise our quota of troops, I quote from an article written for the *Iowa Historical Record* by Mr. N. H. Brainerd, military secretary during Governor Kirkwood's administration:

"When the first call was made for 75,000 men for three months of service, there seemed almost a fight for places, and in Iowa two regiments were enlisted when but one was called for and could be accepted. But such was the spirit of the enlisted men that so soon as a call came for enlistments for three years service, this second regiment, which had enlisted but for three months, went bodily into the three years service. As the conflict progressed and increased in magnitude, the Government, in 1862, issued a call for 300,000 men to be

enlisted for three years service, and for another 300,000 to be enlisted for nine months, if possible, but if not, then to be drafted. Then was the time we saw the war spirit on the rampage here in Iowa. In our own county (Johnson) we saw 700 men go into the Twenty-second Regiment, while some 500 had gone out before. The quota for Iowa in each one of these calls was 10,500 men. The first was soon filled.

"As to the second, Governor Kirkwood said he would not put in a man for nine months. He said it took nine months for raw recruits to become of value as soldiers—to become inured to camp and march—to change of food and habits, and the exposure incident to army life and efficient in drill and the use of arms. By the time they had got thus far and were beginning to be soldiers in deed, their term of enlistment would expire and they be lost to the service. So he called upon the patriotism of Iowa to fill this call, also, with three years men; and so well was this call responded to that the whole number were so enlisted and sent to the field.

"Of all the wise things done by Governor Kirkwood during the war, and there were very many of them, none were wiser than this. Had this call been filled throughout the country in the same manner, the Rebellion would have collapsed much sooner than it did, and tens of thousands of precious lives and hundreds of millions of treasure been saved. But all Governors did not have Iowa patriotism to draw upon. But Iowa received at Washington credit for only the number of men sent, without reference to the length of time for which they were enlisted.

"As the war progressed with all its casualties, and the expiration of the enlistment of the nine months men, more recruits were wanted, and as they could not be enlisted fast enough a draft was ordered in 1863, and Iowa was called upon to furnish troops under it. I then suggested to Governor Kirkwood that Iowa was entitled to credit for the *length of time* of enlistments, as well as for the number of men enlisted. He directed me to correspond with the War Department and present the claim. This I at once did and received prompt reply that the claim was just, but that the Department was overwhelmed with work, and had no time then to adjust the matter, but would do so and give due credit on any subsequent call; that the necessity for men was most pressing, and this draft must go on as it did early in 1864. In July, 1864, another draft was ordered, and Iowa had not received her due credit. Governor Kirkwood's last term closed in January, 1864, and Governor Stone succeeded him. He also pressed this claim for credit; but it was not till January 23, 1865, that he was enabled to issue his proclamation announcing that, 'After a careful settlement with the War Department and adjustment of credits due under previous calls, together with recent enlistments, we are gratified in being able to announce that all demands by the Government upon this State

for troops have been filled, and that we are placed beyond the liability of a draft under the impending call for 300,000 one year men.' "

Had proper credit for these three-year men been obtained as the men were furnished, our quota would have been full when the first draft was ordered, and with the enlistments which were constantly being made, all calls would have been met by enlistments, and Iowa at no time subject to draft. The 10,500 for three years were equal in time of service to 42,000 men enlisted for nine months. In actual value they were vastly greater than this. They were, after the nine months expired, veterans in service to the close of the war, while some of the greatest embarrassments the government encountered were from the expiration of the terms of the nine months' men from the other States.

This was one of the most striking and creditable events in Iowa's glorious war record—that she went so far beyond the demand made upon her by the government as to furnish this so vastly greater support than she was asked to do, or than any other State did do or attempt to do. The initiation of this was due to the good sense and sound judgment of Gov. Kirkwood. The fulfillment of it was due to the abounding patriotism and heroic valor of the young manhood of Iowa.

There was no draft during Gov. Kirkwood's administration.

THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION.

To the People of Iowa:

In token of our dependence upon the Supreme Ruler of the universe, the more especially in this the hour of peril to the nation, in fervent thanksgiving to him, that no pestilence has prevailed in our midst, that the labors of the husbandman have been measurably rewarded, and for the many blessings vouchsafed us as individuals and citizens, in devout acknowledgment of His sovereignty and over-ruling Providence, and in heartfelt gratitude that our armies in the field have won such renown in the great cause of the Union, that our citizens at home have been inspired with such devoted loyalty, and munificence in relieving our brave soldiers, and that we have been permitted to follow

in a peaceful manner our usual pursuits, while war is desolating our land, I, Samuel J. Kirkwood, do hereby appoint Thursday, the 27th day of November inst., as a day of thanksgiving, prayer and praise, and do hereby entreat the people, abstaining from their usual pursuits, to assemble together on that day in their chosen places of worship and offer up their prayers to Almighty God, humbly acknowledging their short comings and their dependence upon Him, thanking Him for the manifold blessings conferred upon them by His hand, beseeching Him to crown our arms and cause with signal triumph, to confer strength upon our gallant soldiers, to mitigate the sufferings of the sick, wounded and imprisoned, and to succor and heal the anguish of the bereaved, and imploring the speedy extinction of rebellion, a return of peace in His own good time to our distracted land, and that we may prove ourselves worthy of the institutions bequeathed us by the fathers of the republic by becoming once more a united, fraternal and happy people.

By the Governor, ELIJAH SELLS, <i>Sec'y of State.</i>	}	In testimony whereof I have hereto set my hand and caused the great seal of the State to be affixed this 1st day of November, 1862. SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.
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The battle of Corinth, one of the most important and decisive battles of the war was fought on the 3d and 4th of October, in which our troops under Gen. Rosecrans secured a glorious and decisive victory. The following Iowa troops took part in the engagement: The 2nd, Col. Weaver; the 5th, Col. Matthies; the 7th, Col. Elliott; the 10th, Lieut.-Col. Small; the 11th, Col. Hall; the 13th, Col. Crocker; the 15th, Col. Reid; the 16th, Col. Chambers; the 2nd Cavalry, Col. Hatch, and the Union Brigade.

After the news of the battle reached Iowa, Gov. Kirkwood wrote a personal letter to each of these ten commanders, no one letter being like another in phraseology, but all of the same tenor, and breathing the same spirit. As a sample here given is the one to Col. Crocker:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA, {
IOWA CITY, NOV. 19, 1862. }

Colonel:—It is with no ordinary feelings of pleasure and State pride that I congratulate your brave regiment on its courage and achievements at Corinth. Its devoted loyalty and attachment to the Union and the Constitution have been thus attested on the field of battle, where

life was at stake, and the gallant bearing of your men in the face of death has proven them patriots as well as soldiers.

Accept for yourself assurances of my esteem and best wishes.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

Col. M. M. Crocker,

13th Iowa Infantry, Corinth, Miss.

On the news of the battle of Prairie Grove in Arkansas reaching him, he writes as follows:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA, }
IOWA CITY, Jan. 5, 1863. }

M. B. Cochran, Surgeon First Regiment Iowa Cavalry,

Acting Medical Director 3d Division Army of Frontier.

SIR:—I returned from Washington on the 2nd and found your letter of 13th December this morning. I am truly rejoiced to hear from you and am both grateful and grieved to hear the particulars of the hard fought battle of Prairie Grove. Iowa as usual did her share of the fighting, and did it nobly, but also as usual lost heavily. I regret the loss of McFarland very much. He was a noble man. How is Thompson doing? *Please write me how he is. He is a gallant fellow. I need not impress on you the necessity of doing all that can be done for our brave boys. Let me say one thing: Don't let them lack for anything, "red tape" or no "red tape;" see that they have all that they need. Please write often.

Very truly your friend,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA, }
IOWA CITY, Jan. 6, 1863. }

General:—I wish I could shake hands with you and express to you verbally my thanks and congratulations for the well fought battle and dearly won victory of Prairie Grove. I have transmitted to the 19th and 20th letters of thanks, which I hope will be read to them. They have proved themselves worthy to be called "Iowa boys."

General, you are surpassing yourself. Your name is in all men's mouths, and the people delight to speak the praises of our plucky little Iowa general. Wilson's Creek, Pea Ridge and Prairie Grove make a record of which any man may well be proud, and I assure you you can't feel more pride in that record than I do.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

Brig.-Gen. J. F. Herron,

Commanding 2nd Division Army Frontier

In his anxiety for the care of the sick soldiers he writes:

*Wm. G., Col. of the 20th Reg't.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, }
DAVENPORT, IOWA, Dec. 16, 1862. }

John Clark, Esq., State Agent,

Springfield, Mo.

DEAR SIR:—I have just seen Col. Gifford, who returned night before last. He gives me a deplorable account of the condition of our boys at Springfield. I want you to stay in Missouri as long as you find it necessary. See the Medical Director, Gen. Curtis, Gen. Herron and every one else until you get our boys cared for. You need not be backward or mealy-mouthed in discussing the state of affairs, and in cursing everyone who won't do his duty. Talk right hard, and have our boys cared for. If hay and straw cannot be had, have Gen. Curtis send cots and mattresses, and call on the Sanitary Association of St. Louis for help and supplies.

Very truly,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

On the same subject he again writes a long letter to the Secretary of War as follows:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA, }
IOWA CITY, June 23, 1863. }

Hon. Edwin Stanton, Secretary of War,

Washington, D. C.

SIR:—I have received the letter of Brig.-Gen. Canby, A. A. G., covering copy of Surg.-Gen. Hammond's report on my application for the transfer of sick and wounded soldiers from Iowa to hospitals in that State, and confess that I am deeply mortified and much disheartened by their contents.

Surg.-Gen. Hammond reports that on the 27th of May last he reported to you that at hospitals then established, there were 40,000 vacant beds, that a compliance with my request would involve the construction of more hospitals, and therefore he disapproved it; and Gen. Canby's letter merely states that he has been instructed by you to enclose to me a copy of Surg.-Gen. Hammond's report.

I do not at all dispute the correctness of the facts in Surg.-Gen. Hammond's report, but I think you will be troubled, as I certainly have been, to discern the reason why these facts render my request an improper one, when I state to you another fact which certainly would be known to Surg.-Gen. Hammond, to-wit: That one of these hospitals in which these vacant beds are, *is in the city of Keokuk in the State of Iowa.* Immediately after the battle of Shiloh a hospital was established at Keokuk, and the same has been kept up continually until this time. There are now some 500 or 600 patients there, and "vacant beds" for at least 1,000 or 1,500 more, and when I apply to you to have our sick and wounded men sent there, backed as I suppose

myself to be, either by a positive law or joint resolution of Congress, it is exceedingly mortifying and disheartening to learn as I do unfortunately, that the existence of this hospital is unknown at Washington, and that to comply with my request will require the construction of new hospitals. There is room enough in the hospital now established at Keokuk, and *now in operation there*, for all or nearly all our sick and wounded men, and thus the *reason* assigned by Surg.-Gen. Hammond for refusing my request being removed, permit me to renew that request and further urge it upon your consideration.

There is a great deal of ill feeling among our sick and wounded men and their friends at home on this subject. When men are suffering from wounds or disease, there is among them a natural desire to be as near home as possible and to see their friends if they can. If you, or Surg.-Gen. Hammond or I were sick or wounded, we would feel thus, and our friends would desire to have us near them so they could see us. Our sick and wounded men feel thus, and it is right that I should say to you plainly and frankly that the belief prevailing among our soldiers and their friends at home that the government refuses to gratify this natural and proper feeling of the soldiers and their friends, when as in this case it can be fairly and properly gratified, is producing results in the public mind unfavorable to the government and prejudicial to the cause of the country. When speaking on this subject men whose sons are in the army begin to say, and to say freely, that it would be well for the government to pay some regard to the feelings and wishes and opinions of those who have given all they have for the country, as well as to be careful to conciliate those who are doing much against it.

I therefore renew my request and base it on the following grounds:

1st. We have already hospital accommodations in the State.

2nd. Our people are well satisfied, and they are sustained in their belief by the best medical authority, that not only will our sick and wounded recover more rapidly in their own climate, but that many will recover if sent here who will die if kept below.

3rd. The sick and wounded can be as well guarded at Keokuk, as elsewhere, and returned to their regiments upon their recovery as well from that point as from any other.

4th. It will be a cause of heartfelt pleasure to many a poor fellow to be in a place where his wife, his sister, or his mother can go to see him and cheer him in his suffering, and will encourage their friends to stand by and support the government that shows a sympathy for those who are suffering for its preservation. Very respectfully

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

To guard the interests and protect the rights of the citizens of the State, the Governor had occasionally to cross

swords with some of the United States officers as the following letter will show:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, }
Jan. 1, 1863. }

L. Thomas,

Adjutant General, U. S. A.

SIR:—In November last Capt. Parker had in camp and was filling up a company, the organization of which was commenced August 18. The company had been full, but by reason of delay in getting barracks, a number of the men had left. The county authorities of the county in which the company was being raised, in order to encourage enlistment and thus secure the county against the liability to a draft, were paying a county bounty of \$50 to single and \$75 to married men. The men had received this county bounty, but the company was not fully organized, nor had the men signed triplicate enlistment papers as required by General Order No. 75, 1862.

Under these circumstances Capt. Yates, 13th U. S. Infantry, recruited nine of these men for the regular army from the State camp, and the Adjutant General of the State refused to permit them to go into Capt. Yates' company. I learn that you have issued instructions to Capt. Hendershott at Davenport, to turn the men over to Capt. Yates, taking them from the company for which they enlisted.

I respectfully and firmly protest against this action; these men were not liable to enlistment in the regular service, because they had not then signed their enlistment papers; they were not liable to enlistment as citizens, because they had then volunteered and were in camp as part of an organized company, being raised by one of my recruiting officers to fill a requisition made upon me by the Secretary of War.

It is bad enough to have our volunteer organizations, raised with so much labor and mustered into the United States service, decimated to furnish commands for men who do not enlist under them; but if these men are allowed to go among our incomplete organizations and take from them men who have been recruited by State recruiting officers, and who have received large, local bounties, it is proper I should say frankly, I shall not feel disposed to make any great exertion for the future to procure voluntary enlistments. In this particular case the company from which these men are taken is assigned to one of our old regiments, and with these men lacks three of having the *minimum* number. If these men are taken away this company will be still further delayed in its completion. The officers who have raised it have spent much time and money in raising the company, and plainly speaking it is an outrage on them to take the men from them. Capt. Hendershott, at my request, has delayed any action on the order issued to him till I can hear from you, and I earnestly request a careful consid-

eration of the matter, as your decision must seriously affect further recruiting in the State. I cannot get men to undertake to recruit companies, if while they are engaged in the work officers of the regular army can seduce their men from them by promising the immediate payment of the bounty which is delayed to them as volunteers.

Very respectfully,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

That traitorous and unpatriotic institution known as the "Knights of the Golden Circle" had about this time gained a strong foothold in the State, and its members were numbered by the thousand, and while their treasonable acts were not of such an overt and open character as to subject them to arrest and trial for treason, their whisperings and mutterings were sent forth with all the vile and venomous treason they dare utter. Had they left the State and openly joined their Southern Secession allies, their course and conduct would have been much more honorable than it was while they remained at home to spit out and fume their vile venom, and do all they dare and could do to hinder, retard and frustrate the efforts of Union men in restoring the country to its former condition of peace and prosperity. Their influence was felt more strongly along the southern border than elsewhere, though some of the interior counties contained nests where the foul brood was hatched and nourished.

To give these people warning of their impending danger, and to put others on their guard, there was issued this

PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF IOWA, }
IOWA CITY, March 23, 1863. }

TO THE PEOPLE OF IOWA :

There is reason to believe that a very considerable number of men, some of whom have been in the Rebel army, and others of whom have, as guerrillas, been engaged in plundering and murdering Union men in the State of Missouri, have taken refuge in this State to escape the punishment due to their crimes, and that instead of seeking to merit a pardon of past offences by living peaceably and quietly among us, as becomes good citizens, many of them are endeavoring to array a portion of our people in armed resistance to the laws. And I very deeply

regret to say there is reason to believe that some of our people have been found weak enough to aid them in their mischievous designs.

These men, by bold and fierce denunciations of certain acts of the President and of the Congress of the United States as unconstitutional, and by industriously teaching that the citizen may lawfully resist by force what he deems an unconstitutional act or law, and in other ways are seeking to array such as may be duped and deceived by their artful and wicked machinations into armed resistance to the General Government, and to inaugurate civil war within our limits, thus exposing their dupes to the punishment due to traitors, and our State to the storm of war, which has swept as with fire the State of Missouri. These men are endeavoring to induce our soldiers in the field to desert their colors, thus exposing them to the penalty of desertion, which is death, and are endeavoring to induce our citizens to violate the law by resisting the arrest of deserters, and a conscription in this State, if ordered, thereby exposing themselves to the punishment due such criminal acts.

It is my duty to, and I therefore do, warn these men that their courses are fraught with peril to themselves and the peace and good order of the State, and if persisted in to the extremity they intend will certainly bring punishment; and I also warn all the good people of the State, as they value peace and good order, and would avoid the horrors of civil war, not to be misled by these wicked and designing men, who, having nothing to lose, hope for plunder and profit in the license of civil war. The laws of the General Government *will be enforced* among us at any cost and at all hazards, and the men who array themselves in armed resistance to the laws will certainly be overpowered and punished. As long as those who have sought shelter in Iowa from other States behave as quiet and peaceable citizens, I have no disposition to interfere with or molest them; but it cannot be tolerated that these men who have been compelled to flee from their own State for fear of punishment for crimes committed against the laws of their own State, or of the United States, should, while enjoying the protection of our laws, be permitted to bring among our peaceful homes, and upon our peaceful people, all the horrors they have brought upon the State from which they have fled. We owe it not only to ourselves and our families, but much more to the families of those who have left us to defend on the battlefield the life of our country that we preserve peace and good order at home. It must be a bitter reflection to our gallant soldiers that while they are enduring the hardships and dangers of a soldier's life in defense of their country, bad men at home are plotting to bring on their unprotected families the dangers of civil war.

Moved by these considerations, I have this day notified the proper authorities of the United States and of the State of Missouri that many

criminals against their laws are in Iowa engaged, as I believe, in inciting rebellion, and that I shall insist on their arrest and removal when necessary, and their trial for their crime if their conduct shall continue to be such as is dangerous to the peace and safety of the State; and I enjoin upon all good citizens who know that such men are among them that they especially notice their demeanor and conduct, and if it be seditious and dangerous that they furnish the United States District Attorney or the United States Marshal, or either of the Congressional District Provost Marshals, to be appointed, or myself, with their names and affidavits, showing their criminality before their coming to this State, and their conduct since, to the end that our State may be relieved of the danger of their presence.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

Breastpins made from the transverse section of a butter-nut, and also from an old style copper cent, with the head side exposed, were favorite badges of those who were boldly displaying their disloyalty, and they were emblems of the treasonable hearts beating within the bosoms upon which they were worn. Governor Kirkwood received several letters written by these home-bred traitors, which letters had been gathered and sent to him, and replying to Peter Dolbee, the person who forwarded them to him, he writes:

"It must be excessively provoking to all loyal men, and especially to those men who have been in the ranks of our army as soldiers, to have these copperhead breastpins publicly and offensively worn, being as they are emblems of moral treason. * * * It seems to me persons wearing these badges at public places, knowing the effect such conduct must produce, that it is disturbance and breach of the peace, must be held to intend to do what they have good reason to believe their acts will do. It seems to me much the same as if one of these men would bring a Rebel flag to any of the places named and there cheer for the Rebellion. He *must* know such conduct would cause disturbance and breach of the peace, and he should be punished if found guilty of an infraction of the law."

The Secretary of War was written to on this subject as follows:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA, }
IOWA CITY, Mar. 18, 1863. }

Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

SIR—I have to-day received the enclosed package of papers from Mr. Hoxie, United States Marshal of this State. There is no doubt

there is a very unfortunate condition of affairs at this time in this State. A secret organization known popularly as the "Knights of the Golden Circle" is widely spread through the State, the object of which I am informed and believe is to embarrass the Government in the prosecution of the war, mainly by encouraging desertions from the army, protecting deserters from arrest, discouraging enlistments, preparing the public mind for an armed resistance to a conscription, if ordered, and, if possible, to place the State government at the next election in the hands of men who will control it to thwart the policy of the Administration in the prosecution of the war. Indeed, with the exception of advising desertions, the purposes above mentioned are openly advised and advocated by many persons in this State.

Lieutenant Henry came to me in regard to the matter mentioned in his letter to Marshal Hoxie, and, at my instance, Capt. Hendershott furnished him with a detail of ten armed men to go with him to his place of rendezvous, in Madison county, and remain with him. I also sent by him fifty muskets and some ammunition to place in the hands of loyal men. I have not heard from him since his return. There is undoubtedly a feverish and excited state of the public mind, and matters must be managed here prudently and firmly or a collision may ensue. I wrote you a few days since asking that you send me some arms, and also that you allow me to raise two or three regiments as a 'State Guard,' not to leave the State. I regard these measures both as measures of precaution and prevention. Much that is said in regard to the resistance of the laws is no doubt mere bluster by self-important men of small caliber and small ambition to give themselves local importance and to secure for themselves petty offices, and who, if an outbreak were to occur, would not be in the way of danger.

But I also believe there are engaged in this work men of desperate fortunes, political and otherwise, who would have the courage to lead an outbreak, and who would rejoice in the opportunity. I think it extremely probable that there are in this and other Northern States paid agents of the Rebels, who are organizing machinery and using the means to effect the purposes herein attributed to the Knights of the Golden Circle; and there is real danger that the efforts of these men may so far operate on the minds of their honest but deluded followers in some localities as to cause a collision among our people. If we had arms in the hands of our loyal citizens, and a State Guard as I suggest, it might, and I think would, prevent this. The condition of things is, in my judgment, such that the Government can only make itself properly respected by convincing those disposed to be troublesome of its determination and ability to preserve the peace and enforce the laws. The dismissal of those "arbitrarily arrested," as the phrase goes, has had a bad effect in this, that it has led many to suppose that the Government has not the power to *punish*. Let me impress upon

you my conviction that in case of any armed resistance to the laws, the punishment be prompt, certain and sharp, as any thing looking like indecision or timidity would be disastrous.

I scarcely know what to advise in regard to these men who are "talking treason," huzzaing for Jeff Davis, and organizing the Knights of the Golden Circle, etc. It would be worse than useless to arrest them, unless they can be tried and, if found guilty, punished. If arrests could be made, trials and convictions had and punishment sharply administered, the effect would be excellent. Has the United States District Attorney of this State had his attention called especially to this matter? It seems to me if it has not, it should be done, and he or the marshal furnished with the necessary money to detect arrest and punish some of these active scoundrels who are producing so much mischief.

I have already organized and armed a company in each of the southern tier of counties in the State. These have been placed under the orders of Provost Marshal Hiatt, of Keokuk, and will be placed under the orders of the new provost marshals in Congressional Districts as soon as I am advised of their names and appointment. I hope good selections have been made. I am now organizing a company in each of the second tier of counties from the south line, and, when organized and armed, I will also place them at the disposal of the Provost Marshals. If I had arms, I would organize companies in all the counties in the State where I think they may be needed. None of these companies would draw any pay or cause any expense except when called on by the proper authorities, except those in the southern tier, a squad of ten men, each of which is on duty all the time. I regard it as a matter of the first and most pressing importance to get a supply of arms and ammunition. * * *

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

- SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

CHAPTER XIII.

Fall of Vicksburg—Letters to the Soldiers—To General Grant—To Gen. Logan—The Tally War—The Governor's Life Threatened—Insurrection Troops—State Troops—The War Ends Without the Smell of Powder, the Whiz of Bullets, or the Stain of Blood—The Governor's Speech at West Union—Some of His Apt Illustrations—Speech at Dubuque—Plain Talk to the People of that County.

After news was received of the surrender of Vicksburg, the following letter was sent:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA, }
IOWA CITY, July 11, 1863. }

To the Soldiers of Iowa in the Army of the Tennessee :

You have passed through one of the most memorable campaigns of history, and are now rewarded for all your toil, privation and suffering by beholding the foul emblem of treason trailed in the dust to give place to the glorious banner of Liberty over the city of Vicksburg.

The eyes of the world have been upon you and your brave and worthy comrades from other States, and admiration of your fortitude, patience and indomitable bravery, watching the progress of your work as one of those great events which shapes the destiny of a nation.

You yourselves have probably been unaware of the momentous results consequent upon your failure or success. Despots the world over have earnestly desired the former, while the good, the generous and the nobly brave have prayed Almighty God to give you the victory. But while the world has been thus observant of you, all lovers of liberty in Iowa have beheld with an intensity of gaze and admiration unknown to others the deeds of her valiant sons. Many thousands of her citizens are bound to you by kindred ties, while every one has felt that the name and standing of this State were in your hands, and that he was honored in your honor, and that he shared in your glory.

The brightest hope of all is realized. You have not only maintained the lofty reputation of your country and your State, but have added greatly thereto, and shown the world that whoever insults the flag of our beloved country must meet the bravest of the brave.

The State of Iowa is proud of your achievements and renders you her homage and gratitude, and with exultant heart and exuberant joy claims you as her sons. Her tears flow for the brave men fallen, and her sympathies are warm for the sick, wounded and suffering.

You have made it a high privilege to be a citizen of Iowa to share your renown, and it will be a proud remembrance to you while life shall last and a rich legacy to your children that you were members of the Army of the Tennessee.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

To General Grant this was written:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA, }
IOWA CITY, July 15, 1863. }

Major-General U. S. Grant, Com'd'g. Army of the Tennessee :

GENERAL—Permit me to congratulate you upon your great triumph in the capture of Vicksburg. Your campaign resulting in that great success stands unrivaled in the history of this war for boldness of plan, thoroughness of execution and brilliancy of success.

In the name of the people of Iowa, whose brave boys aided in achieving this great result, I tender you their hearty thanks.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

Writing to Gen. Logan, commandant of the post of Vicksburg after the surrender, in regard to sending our sick and wounded soldiers to Northern hospitals, and especially to the one at Keokuk, Governor Kirkwood closes his letter with:

"Thank God and our brave army for the fall of Vicksburg. I would have freely given a year of my life to have been with you when you entered the city. The campaign ending in its capture has been in plan, execution and results the most brilliant of the war, and I hope will be a model for other campaigns. I did not formerly think highly of General Grant, but I now take it all back. He is *the* man of the day."

THE TALLY WAR.

When, in the year 1858, in the great debate between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, in the statement made by the former, uttering that truism that "A house divided against itself cannot stand," and that "This country must eventually become all slave or all free," nothing was farther from the mind of that great man who made that utterance than that he was to be the person whose one single act would make it so.

“But there’s a Divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough cast them as we may.”

It was his immortal Emancipation Proclamation that, on the first day of January, 1863, made this country at once and forever free. Illustrating the truth of the adage, that “the pen is mightier than the sword,” with one stroke of his trenchant pen he cut off the heads of 250,000 slave-holders. He wiped from the face of the fairest land on earth an institution that had been the cause of more study, more discussion, more dissensions, more bitterness and more anxious solicitude on the part of American statesmen, more planning and scheming by politicians, and more anxiety on the part of the friends of free government in our country, than any others.

This act by the President enraged and embittered the friends of this defunct institution, both North and South, more than anything else; and when in addition to this there was a prospect that a conscription would be had, and that they might possibly be drafted and be compelled to fight as soldiers in what they had been in the habit of calling the “Abolition War,” their treason became more intense, and their opposition to the prosecution of the war more pronounced and more bold and emphatic.

In no place in the State was this feeling more deep-seated, more manifest or outspoken, than in Keokuk county. It arrayed neighborhoods one against another. The recriminations and bickerings of small feuds were magnified by the enormity of the contest prevailing until passion glowed at a white heat. There was disloyalty to the Union which found open and intemperate expression from some whose sympathies were with the States of their birth south of Mason and Dixon’s line.

No more open or bold defender of slavery existed than George Cyphert Tally, whose father was an original Tennessean. Young Tally was a Baptist minister, a rugged, force-

ful, crude, uneducated man, with more zeal than discretion, but possessed of a natural gift of oratory. He was a product of the frontier. Imbued with a fervid belief in the justness of the Southern appeal to arms, he became the bold, fearless outspoken champion of the disloyal minority, who discredited the valor of the Northern soldier and denounced the prosecution of the war. While trying to preach the Gospel from the pulpit, he preached moral and political treason on the stump.

Saturday, August 1, 1863, a great Democratic mass meeting was held near English River, in Keokuk county, at which young Tally was the chief speaker. Several hundred persons were present. They came mostly in wagons and brought weapons concealed beneath the straw in the bottom of their vehicles. Wild, and doubtless idle, threats had been made to "clean out" the town of South English, a Union stronghold, whose people, learning of the menace to their safety prepared to defend themselves. A Republican meeting had been held there and fire-arms had been displayed.

Tally had been in the habit of wearing a butternut breast pin, a badge only worn by the members of the disloyal party. When going through the town on his way to the meeting, he had an altercation with a couple of the citizens in regard to his wearing it, and they attempted to snatch it from him, but did not succeed.

In the afternoon the Tally party started for the town with the avowed intention of passing through it. The Rev. Tally stood up in the wagon that led the procession. Someone warned him not to enter the village, but he said he meant harm to no one, and only demanded the privilege of the street. As the party in the wagons reached the narrow crowded thoroughfare where the Republicans had held their meeting, there were cries of "Copperhead," "coward" and "why don't you shoot?" Someone did shoot, but it was

afterwards claimed to have been done accidentally, but it became a signal for a general fusilade, and from one to two hundred guns and revolvers were very soon discharged. Tally stood in his wagon in the fore-front of the affray. In one hand he grasped a long bowie knife, the other held a revolver. This revolver spoke among the first; once, twice, and then he fell dead in the wagon, pierced by three bullets, one in the brain and two in the body, grasping his weapons, one in each hand till they were taken from him, in the cold embrace of death. News of his killing was spread far and wide, and his friends vowed the direst of vengeance. An incredible excitement was fanned by the fury of the popular passion. The menace of a vendetta was at hand, and no man trusted his fellow or felt safe in his home, where before the door had been unlatched and every stranger was a welcome guest.

Monday a committee of influential citizens from Sigourney visited the Tally neighborhood for the purpose of assuaging the rising storm, by the assurance of prompt justice. But this had no effect, and from Wapello, Mahaska and Poweshiek counties the avengers began to gather.

The very next day after the murder the Governor was written to for help by three of the citizens of South English, and so pressing were their needs, and so great their fears, they repeated the request the following day.

By Monday night so serious was the aspect of affairs, that two citizens of Sigourney went to Washington, the nearest railroad station, on horseback; there they procured a hand car and went to Wilton where they took a train to Iowa City to see the Governor, who at once ordered forty stands of arms and ammunition to be sent to the scene to be used in suppressing the outbreak. This prompt action had a warlike appearance to one of the men, who said: "My God! Governor, am I to understand you that we are to return home and shoot down our neighbors?" The Governor re-

flected a moment, and then replied: "On second thought I guess I'll go myself."

He went, but not till he had made arrangements for half a score of companies of infantry and a squad of artillery to follow closely after him. As the artillery squad had no fixed ammunition for their guns, bars and rods of iron were cut into inch pieces to do duty in the place of canister, grape and solid shot.

In sending arms to the persons applying for them, the following letter was written:

STATE OF IOWA, EXECUTIVE OFFICE, }
August 3, 1863. }

Messrs. Allen Hale, Wm. Cochran and Thos. Moorman.

South English, Iowa.

GENTLEMEN:—I have learned with regret the unfortunate occurrence at your place on Saturday last, and also that there is danger of further conflict and disturbance in consequence. I of course cannot determine where the fault is, or who are the parties responsible, but it is very clear that this is a matter to be determined by the court and not by a mob. If it shall turn out that Tally was unlawfully killed, the law must show who is the guilty person, and must inflict the punishment. If a mob of his friends are permitted to determine who is guilty, and to inflict punishment, it is just as probable that the innocent will suffer as the guilty. Such proceedings unsettle society and render every man's life and property insecure.

I have sent to the sheriff of Washington county forty stands of arms and ammunition for the same, for you. These arms are intended only and strictly for the defense of your people against any lawless attack on your town by a mob, and for the purpose of aiding the lawful authorities in enforcing the laws and maintaining the public peace. They must not be used for any other purpose, or in any other manner. You must keep your people strictly on the defensive, and clearly within the law. You must not resist the execution of legal process, but must aid in enforcing and executing it. If you are attacked by a mob of rioters and lawless men you will of course defend yourselves.

The public mind is much excited by the acts of mischievous and designing men, and it becomes law abiding and peaceful citizens not to add to this excitement. Act prudently, coolly and lawfully.

I trust the threatened danger may pass over without further disturbance.

I have written the sheriff of your county to act in this matter. Until

his arrival I must trust to your judgment and discretion, upon his arrival act under his authority. Very respectfully,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

Charles Negus, an attorney of Fairfield, was sent for by the friends of Tally to assist in bringing the guilty parties to trial, and as he became a very close observer and a participant in many of the scenes that followed his arrival, and has published what came to his notice, portions of that publication are here inserted:

"My road to Sigourney led near where the Tally party which had been constantly increasing by arrivals from the surrounding country and adjoining counties had made their headquarters about two miles from Sigourney, on the south bank of Skunk River. I drove to the encampment and took a survey of the premises. Here were to be seen the offal of slaughtered beeves, the camp fires where food had been cooked, the stacked arms, the places where men had taken their repose during the night, and large numbers of wagons, horses and men. The place looked warlike. * * * When I first met them they were not organized, but they soon went to work, divided themselves into companies, elected officers for each company, chose officers to command them as a brigade, and became organized for regular military drill.

"As soon as it was known that I was on the ground calls were made for me to address them. I did not think it a very desirable task to talk to such an audience, and at first declined; but finding I could not well avoid it, I ascended a stand and told them the only thing I had to say was not to act under excitement but to be cool and deliberate in all their actions, and especially to maintain the character of law abiding citizens, and not to do anything they were not authorized to do by law. * * * Under the then exciting state of affairs I thought it was not a very desirable crowd to be in, and got away as soon as I could and went to Sigourney. There were a great many strangers in the town, and a great many constantly coming and going, and nearly all took the Tally side of the controversy. Those that did not had very little to say. I had not been in the hotel very long before I saw J. H. Sanders coming into town on his return from having been to see Gov. Kirkwood. As soon as he had stopped, a few of the leading Republicans gathered around him in private consultation. Among the number was the landlord. On his return, just as he passed me, I heard him remark in a low tone, "There'll be plenty of pale faces before to-morrow at this time." As soon as I saw the landlord alone I went to him, told him what I had heard him say, and asked him why he made that remark. Then I was informed that the Governor would be there that night with a well armed military force, that he had made

arrangements and that it was his intention, if necessary, to take the whole Tally camp prisoners, or if they resisted to 'shoot them on the spot.'

"A little before sundown the Governor drove into town accompanied by three of his aids. Soon after he arrived he went to the Court House, and it was announced that he wanted to talk to the citizens. There soon collected quite an audience, and the Governor from the Court House steps addressed those assembled, closing his remark with, 'I will make an example of those engaged in these disturbances, which will forever deter others from engaging in like proceedings. *I say what I mean and I mean what I say.*'

"The Governor continued his remarks till it was quite dark. While he was speaking I made it an object to circulate through the crowd and learn the effect produced upon it by the speech. I heard frequent expressions of disapprobation and suppressed threats of personal violence, and evident signs of much discontent. One man apparently between forty and fifty years old, whose beard had begun to be silvered over with gray hairs, and possessed of a fierce determined visage used the expression, 'I'll shoot the d——d old scoundrel.' His cool, decisive and deliberate manner, and his emphatic tone though uttered in a low voice forcibly impressed upon my mind that he meant mischief, and might be a dangerous person.

"After the Governor had closed his speech, he went back to the hotel and took a seat at the door. I had taken a chair and was seated out doors on the pavement near him. There were but few persons about the house at that time, daylight had disappeared, and every thing appeared peaceful and quiet. The Governor in his thoughts had apparently forgotten that he was the Executive of the State, and commander-in-chief of all its military forces, and in his feelings had become an Iowa farmer again; he gave a description of his own farm, how he managed it; stated that he had recently purchased a lot of steers from the western part of the State, told how he was going 'to handle them,' and the profits he expected to realize from his farm and steers.

"It was a beautiful evening, the sky was clear, the stars shone bright, all nature apparently calm and lovely. While these things were being discussed, I noticed the gray-bearded man who had made the threats at the court-house come near where we were sitting and take a close observation of the surrounding premises and then go away.

"Soon after I saw a squad of men consisting of five persons, one in the lead and two abreast, following each other in close proximity, with quick and hurried steps, coming up the opposite side of the street from the hotel. When they got to the corner of the public square they turned and came across the street directly towards where we were

sitting. As they approached near us, I discovered that the leader was the gray-haired man I had heard make the threats at the court-house. The thought immediately struck me that they had malicious intentions and designs toward the Governor. I sprang to my feet, placed myself at the door, so that my body formed a barrier between them and the Governor. They came in front of the door, made a halt, turned their faces towards us, stood motionless with a steady fixed gaze at their surroundings; not a word was spoken, but after a few moments passed, they left.

"The Governor soon retired to his room and I to mine. In connection with the many persons about town there was nothing in the coming, stopping, or departing of those men which excited especial attention or comment, and nothing was said about the matter at the time, and their bearing would not have especially attracted my attention had I not heard the emphatic threats of the gray-bearded man at the court-house. There was no explanation given by the party at the time, and no especial comment made by any one. The circumstances had nearly passed from my mind, when, several months afterwards, I was informed that those men had come prepared, and it was their intention to have shot the Governor, and if it had not been for my interference they would have carried their intentions into effect.

"About the time the Governor came to town, the man who I understood had been elected commander-in-chief of the Tally forces came up to Sigourney. From him I learned that they had got their forces fully organized, and it was their intention to start for South English early the next morning. I told him of the information I had got in relation to the Governor's preparations and intentions, and how I had got it, and advised him to go back to the camp and as soon as it was dark have his men disperse and go to their respective homes.

"The Governor in his speech at the court-house made no mention of his having out any military forces, and apparently it was not his intention to have it publicly known; but that night there came to Sigourney, or in close proximity to the Tally camp, the Muscatine Rangers, Capt. Satterlee; Washington Provost Guards, Capt. Andrews; Brighton Guards, Capt. Sheridan; Richland Home Guards, Capt. Drummond; Fairfield Prairie Guards, Capt. Alexander; Fairfield Union Guards, Capt. Rateliff; Abingdon Home Guards, Capt. Peck; Libertyville Home Guards, Capt. Cowan; Mt. Pleasant Infantry, Capt. Jericho; Mt. Pleasant Artillery, Capt. Burr; and Sigourney Home Guards, Capt. Price."

While one of the artillery men was standing guard over his gun, in the early dawn of the morning, a stranger, led by curiosity or as a spy from the Tally camp, came up within speaking distance of the guard, and asked him what he had

there, when he got the reply, "That, sir, by ——, is a butternut cracker."

As the "enemy," following the advice of their counsellor, had all disbanded and scattered during the night, no hostile demonstrations were made on the part of our troops. They were all put under the command of Col. N. P. Chipman to remain until notified by the sheriff of the county that they were no longer needed.

The camp of the Tally forces was estimated to contain from one to three thousand men, but as no muster rolls of them were ever made, or, if made, never published, their exact number was never known.

Upon warrants issued, twelve men were arrested for the killing of Tally, when Mr. Negus, who had returned to his home in Fairfield, was sent for by the Governor to assist in their prosecution, but the men all waived examination and gave bonds for their appearance at the next term of the District Court, and thus ended the noted "Skunk River War."

For the prompt and decisive action of the Governor in suppressing this outbreak much credit is due him, as it prevented the shedding of much blood and a long train of domestic troubles and disasters that would have followed dilatory measures.

In June of this year the Republicans nominated Col. William M. Stone to become Governor Kirkwood's successor, and the latter took some part in the canvass to promote his successor's election, making several speeches as the canvass progressed. The following are portions of a speech he made at West Union, in Fayette county, on the 8th of September. Being introduced to the audience by Joseph Hobson, Esq., as a *live* governor, Governor Kirkwood said:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—Whether I deserve the appellation of a *live* Governor or not, I don't know. Since this war broke out I have certainly been a busy one in doing what I conceived to be your work in the way in which I supposed you desired it to be done. Of late I have been traveling about some portions of our State,

talking at various places with my fellow-citizens regarding our duties in the terrible struggle which has fallen upon us. The present position of our political affairs is such that every person is interested in them. There never has been a time since the history of the country began when all the people were more deeply interested in these things. We have enjoyed many years of peace and great prosperity under this government. And in past days of peace, we have been accustomed to gather together on the Fourth of July—anniversary of our independence—and talk joyously and boastingly of our privileges, and quite loudly of our patriotism and our devotion to the institutions which our fathers have handed down to us. Our orators, on these occasions, have given us grand pictures of our greatness and glory. They have made for us very broad pledges to stand up bravely to the death, if need be, for the honor and integrity of this government, and now the day of real trial has come. We have *talked* our patriotism, and now, my friends, we are called upon to make good our professions. The day has now come for us to make good the words which in times of peace we have so loudly spoken. The life of the government is imperiled. Bad men have sought to destroy this government, and we are called upon in earnest to stand up and defend it—to protect it from the rough hands of its enemies—that we may hand its blessings down to posterity.

Now, I know you will not expect me to-day to talk to you of anything but this war which is upon us. Indeed, there is no use of talking about any thing else at this time. Well, we are at war, and what are we fighting for? For our government? Well, what is a government? Let us consider that matter for a moment and see what we are fighting for. Many people seem to get an idea that the government is only a set of machinery put in motion for the accommodation of aspiring, ambitious men—just to make Presidents and Governors and other officers to eat up their substance—to lift fat, lazy fellows into positions of power and luxury to use up the money the people are yearly taxed to pay. This is not exactly a right view. The government is the means through which you are protected in your life, your liberty, your property, in all that you do and have. Its protection is around you and goes with you continually. It stands by you by night and by day. The government protects your persons, your families, your farms, your workshops, your various places of business. It protects you from the violence of the strong, and from wrong through the machinations of the cunning and dishonest. And all this it does for you, not only at home, but abroad. Go to foreign lands—to the end of the earth, if you will—and it goes commanding respectful protection, and demanding it in the name and strength of a nation that all people every where shall treat you well. And this it does not only for the native born, but for the foreign born—for all who, having left the

shores of other lands, declare allegiance to our country. The government protects our ships, our commerce, through which we make those exchanges of our surplus products for such produce of other countries as are desirable and necessary for us. It is through the government alone under God that we are enabled to acquire and enjoy everything that is desirable in civilized life.

Now, then, to a government which so richly blesses us—which is doing all this for us—which is so showering good upon us continually—do we owe nothing in return? I believe we do. We owe everything that the government can possibly ask that we can possibly give. When the government calls upon us to pay, shall we refuse? What do you think of that man who is always asking to be accommodated who is always receiving good from his neighbors and is never willing to make any return? Why you think him a mean man, and he is one. Just so is the man who receives good all his life from his government, and when that government, in sore need, calls upon him for his services to pay some part of the honest debt he owes, tries to sneak out. [Applause.] These are duties which at all times we owe to the government, and verily we owe it to the government first to be peaceful and law-abiding citizens; second, to pay cheerfully our share of the public tax, to bear our full share of the public burdens. But at this time there is a duty higher than these. The duty to our government now is as sacred as that which every man owes to his wife in time of danger—the duty not only to love and cherish, but to *protect*—to interpose his body, when called upon, between it and the bayonets of its enemies. And the man who by any means tries to get rid of this responsibility—to crawl out of performing this duty—is a *mean man and a coward*. [Great applause, and cries of "That's so."]

To-day the life of our government is threatened. Its enemies must be put down, or it must die; and it seems to me there is but one question which a man should ask himself: "What can I do to aid the government in this its time of peril?" Not what can my neighbor do; not what can the county do, or what some other county can do, but "What can I do!" Not who began the rebellion. Some of you *will* stop to ask who began it, and some of you will say the Abolitionists did it. I don't say whether they did, or not. But suppose they did; the rebellion is *here*, and we must put it down. We cannot stop to argue such questions. What difference does it make who caused the Rebellion. We should postpone such questions till the war is over. The Abolitionists may have caused it, but I know they are now trying to put it down, and so far they are doing well. So far, at least, we should all work together. Neither should we stop to question as to what is to be done after the rebellion is over. Let us be sure first that we are to have a government before we wrangle as to what is to be done with it. For the present, let us take hold with a will, and ex-

pend all our energies in putting the rebellion down, as it is most assuredly our duty to do. I am in the habit of illustrating my view in about this way: You have a fine court-house building here—not large enough, I am sorry to say, to admit all who desire admittance to-day—but it is a fine building, and has cost you many thousands of dollars. Some night the cry of fire is heard in your streets. Looking towards the public square you see this building in flames. Now, while one class of citizens are pulling off their coats and grasping a bucket here and a ladder there, and running with all their might to the wells and cisterns of the town, and from them to the fire, all uniting in a desperate effort to subdue the flames, another class are seen deliberately meeting on the square, and while the fire is still raging, and while men are still laboring manfully to put it out, raise and begin to discuss the question who started the fire. Men about the building are dropping away from exhaustion, and others are needed to take their places, but these fellows stand with their hands in their pockets, stopping every man who comes along to inquire who caused the fire. What would you think of such men? Wouldn't you think they were sneaks? Wouldn't you think they were fools? Would you believe their professions, ever so loudly made, that they earnestly desired the house to stand? [Laughter.] Well, now at the same time another class meets and organizes a meeting in the face of the flames, just far enough away to be out of danger. A chairman is elected—not the chairman you have elected to-day, I apprehend [laughter, and cries of "No! no!"]—and the meeting goes to work to discuss the question as to how the building shall be fixed up after the fire is put out. They are determined to have the house just as it was before the fire broke out. It must be built up to just the same height; every brick must be just in the same place; they must have just the same number of windows and doors; the arrangement about this stand must be exactly as it is now; the window-sash must be just the same size and must contain exactly the same number of panes of glass; everything must be just as it was before the building was set on fire. It does not matter that the flames are still raging, that it is yet doubtful whether the brave men who are throwing the water on will be able to save the building or not. These "house-as-it-was" men will not lend a single hand to save the edifice unless the noble boys, who, in the midst of the work, all covered with sweat and dust and cinders, are splashing the water on to the hissing flames, will stop and enter into a solemn contract to have the house built up just according to their plan.

Now, what would you say of the men who composed such a meeting? You would say they were in league with the fiends who set the building on fire. [Applause.] To-day our political edifice is on fire, and while one portion of our people are crowding forward with all the energy and strength that God has given them to put out the fire,

another class are meanly quibbling about who started the fire, and about what shall be done when the fire is over. Now, why need this be so? Why can we not all come together and with one united effort save the edifice? We want peace all of us, and why can not we leave all these questionings and bickerings to the future and take hold as one brave man and crush this rebellion out, and then we shall have peace? You say, "We were united at first. We could so take hold if this war was only carried on on the same policy under which it began. It was then a war for the Union, but Lincoln has issued his proclamation and changed it into a war to free niggers, and we won't fight in such a cause. The proclamation is unconstitutional, and we intend to stand by the constitution. You Abolitionists and Republicans who are urging on this war admit yourselves that the measure is unconstitutional. You said when you were trying to elect Lincoln that you had no right to interfere with slavery in the States where it then existed. Lincoln disclaimed his right or intention to do such thing. Now you are making a wholesale thing of it and freeing the slaves of many States at once. Where's your consistency?"

It is possibly true that the proclamation may be unconstitutional. It is possible the President may have violated the constitution. He thinks it constitutional, but he may be mistaken. And yet there is another side. The President *may be right*. I know that very many lawyers think him so, lawyers whose reputations for learning and ability are not very limited. And these lawyers do not all belong to the party which put Mr. Lincoln in power; many of them were his political enemies. I know that going about through the towns of the State I meet another quite numerous class, who call themselves lawyers, and who sit most of the time on empty boxes in front of the village stores, having nothing to do but to talk and to whittle [laughter], who gravely declare that this measure is unconstitutional! [Great laughter.]

Now, these store-box lawyers may be mistaken. In relying on their opinions you may be mistaken. The Proclamation may prove to be constitutional after all. You are as liable to error as other great men, and if in error what are you doing? Why you are refusing to aid the government which greatly needs your assistance, even when called upon in a legal manner. You are doing yourselves and the country a great wrong. Now, it seems to me where the chances are so nearly even as we here suppose, the safest way would be for you to act through the direction of the existing administration until the question is settled by the proper tribunals. It seems to me if you are really honest and patriotic in this matter you will do this. You cannot act effectively in any other way. If the power of the government is brought to bear upon this war, it must be through the constituted authorities. [Applause].

Now a word as to our position regarding the unconstitutionality of freeing the slaves of our enemies. Suppose when we were trying to elect Mr. Lincoln *they* had told some such electioneering story as this: "When the Black Republicans get Lincoln elected he will send out here to Galena and get Ulysses S. Grant. He will call upon thousands of the young men of Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois and other States of this great northwest. He will take the money of the government and supply these men with arms. He will build at the expense of the United States Treasury gun boats. And this man Grant will lead these young men down South and there at an enormous expense to the government he will go to work to dig a ditch across the neck of land in front of Vicksburg, in order to turn the course of the Mississippi River to the injury of that city. Failing in this he will take his band of armed men down below, force his way up into the country back of Vicksburg, take the property of the inhabitants, even kill thousands of them, and finally march into the city and take military possession of it?" Why we would have answered you by calling you crazy, and assuring that the President would do no such thing; that he would have no right to do anything of the kind; that he would be sworn as all Presidents of the United States have been, to support the Constitution; that he would support it; that such a proceeding would be outrageously unconstitutional.

Well, after all, this is just what the President and Ulysses S. Grant have been doing. And they have done it in a perfectly constitutional manner. Who dares to say the capture of Vicksburg is unconstitutional? Why this great charge? It is just here: The electioneering story is told upon the hypothesis that we are at peace; that these people of the South have by no act of their own lost their right to be treated as peaceful, law-abiding American citizens. The *fact* is we are at war; that these inhabitants have become rebels, traitors, enemies of the government in open armed resistance to it, and we have now a moral, constitutional and every other right, if there are any other rights to fight them to the best of our ability. [Applause.] We have a right to do everything we can which hurts them and helps us until they submit. Now, the President gets the power under the Constitution to take their negroes, just where he got the power to take Vicksburg. [Great applause.] You do not deny the right of the government to take the life of the enemy, and yet say it has no right to take his negroes. Do you hold that slavery is more sacred than life? These negroes were doing the rebels good, and so far were doing us harm. They did the drudgery, the heavy labor; entrenchments were made by these slaves; breastworks were built by them, behind which the rebels stood to blow the brains out of our brave boys. The rebels have no scruples about using them for themselves, and I know no reason why we should object by turning the tables and using them for ourselves.

I can see no objections to their fighting for us if they want to. Why should not a negro fight, if he is willing to fight? You said they wouldn't fight for anything: They themselves gave the answer at Milliken's Bend, where the fortunes of the day turned upon their heroic conduct. The fact is they will fight, and so long as they are willing and can take the place in the conflict of Iowa husbands, Iowa fathers, Iowa brothers and Iowa sons, I am willing to let them. They are awkward with arms and there is a reason for it. They are not accustomed to handling them. You know how much we have been told of the perfect confidence masters have in their slaves. Slaves love their masters. They say you can't coax them away. The masters are always willing to trust everything, even their lives, in their hands; and yet there is something peculiar about the fact that go around among the plantations as you will, you will never find arms in the hands of slaves. As I have said they are awkward, and it may be that the masters knowing this, and considering the great value of the property in them, are afraid to let them have guns for fear that they will be so awkward as to shoot themselves. [Great laughter and applause].

Be that as it may, the negroes are awkward with arms and need training in the use of them. They have proved their valor, and only need fair usage to be made immensely valuable to us.

I was over the ground at Milliken's Bend after the battle, and was called to notice some of the evidences of desperation with which our own men and these negroes fought. It was a bloody hand to hand encounter. Men were found together, each pierced with the bayonet of his adversary. At one place one of these negroes with the breach of his gun—he was too awkward to use the bayonet end—had knocked down five of the chivalrous rebels. I came to a mound where twenty of the brave sons of Iowa lay buried. As I thought of the Iowa widows whose husbands lay under that heap of earth, as I thought of the Iowa children whose fathers were there, of the Iowa sisters whose brothers, and of the Iowa fathers and mothers whose bravest sons lay in that rough burial of the glorious dead, I felt like pouring a flood of tears over that mound. I went to another greater; sixty of these negroes lay buried there. As I looked upon that mound I thought of the Iowa soldiers whose lives had been spared because their places in the fight had been occupied by these men. I thought of the many Iowa homes that had been saved at least from one cause of sorrow and mourning, because these brave fellows had been willing to fight. I thought that by the help of these blacks the enemy had been prevented from boasting a victory for rebel arms, and I thanked God that they had had the manliness and the bravery to come forward and help us. I thought it made little difference whether men were white or black or what color they were. Let men be pea green, or sky blue, or any other color under the heavens, if they have the manliness and the courage to come

up and fight for the old flag, I am ready to say God speed them. [Great applause]. I visited still another mound; it was where the rebel dead were buried—the traitors that these negroes had forced to bite the dust. I walked about the mound carefully; I thought there might be some stir. It seemed to me that the damning disgrace of having been whipped by a “nigger” might make the chivalry restless in the grave. [Laughter and applause]. But there was no stir. The mound was still. I have not heard that any ghosts have been seen walking about there since. I have come to the conclusion that when a rebel is killed by a “nigger” he is just as dead as when killed by a white man. [Great laughter].

Some of you said our boys would die disgraced if negroes were allowed to fight. But I have yet to see the soldiers who are not thankful for their help. Talk about the disgrace of fighting with a negro? Why here there are two classes in this country; one class is white; the government has showered blessings on this class all their lives. It has always protected them in their lives, their liberties and their property. It has opened to them the way to wealth, to luxury and power. They have been honored by the officers of the government, and enriched from its treasury. The other class is composed of negroes. Our government has done nothing for them, but to put the heel upon their necks; it has denied them liberty; denied them the right to their own wives; denied them the right to their own children; denied them everything except the right to labor under the lash for nothing. Now the life of the government is imperiled. The enemy are dealing heavy blows upon it. We call in the country's distress upon these two classes to fight for us, to help us defend it. The abused negro class come up manfully and fight. The other class refuses to do anything for the government that has done so much for them. Now, which class will it disgrace a man most to act with? Which class is the most respectable? Which is the most decent man, the white man who when called upon deserts and skulks away, or the negro who comes up bravely and fights? The man who fights, the man who does what he can to help crush the enemies of the country is the man with whom I would clasp hands always. [Great applause].

Again, you say you cannot unite with us because Lincoln makes arbitrary arrests; you say, “Lincoln is changing this government into a tyranny.” I don't believe this. I believe the President to be a noble, patriotic man. But suppose he were not, it is strange he should do this thing. In little more than a year he will be a private citizen again, unless he should be re-elected, and I am sure he will not want to be for his personal comfort, and if he changes this government into a tyranny he will have to live under it and his children also. * * *

A great deal of the talk made at this time about the constitutional rights of private citizens is foolish, and actually disloyal. In times of

war and rebellion the rights of the private citizen must be subordinate to the good of the government. It is impossible that the citizen should always be entitled to all the privileges in time of war, to which he is entitled in time of peace. We cannot have an exact rule of law for everything in such a time. No man or set of men that ever lived could have wit enough to frame an article which should mention all the acts by which an open enemy or secret traitor can harm his country in time of war. We must all sometimes give up private interest for public good. To illustrate: Suppose I come to your beautiful town to live; suppose I am very rich—a violent presumption, but suppose it were true; I build me a grand house, and arrange the most magnificent grounds, I have fountains and a large cistern to furnish them; I have on my grounds every tree and every shrub and flower that can be made to thrive in our climate; my garden is crowded with these things; the children pass along my place to school. Some bright morning a sweet little girl with sparkling eyes comes tripping along, and looking up with a smile says, “Mr. Kirkwood, please give me a flower.” I say, “No, keep away from my yard.” Why you would say I was a mean man. But I would have the constitutional right to do just so. I have a constitutional right to make a hog of myself if I choose to do so. I should say *power* perhaps, for I apprehend that to say I have the “right,” is a misapplication of terms. But let us pass on with the illustration. Suppose that on the opposite side of the street from my grounds is a row of fine business buildings filled with valuable goods. A fire breaks out in that row and threatens to destroy all that property. The fire boys run with their engines and hose carts to the spot, and the boys with hose in their hands cry to their chief fireman, “There is no water, what shall we do?” He replies, “Push your hose through Kirkwood’s gate there and run to his cistern.” But I stand at my gate and say, “No, you must not come in here; I will not have you running over my shrubbery and trees and flowers; besides I don’t want the water drained from my cistern.” The boys cry back, “Kirkwood won’t let us in.” The chief fireman answers, “Don’t mind him, hurry up! Go along about your business, quick!” Then I stand and claim my *constitutional rights* and make personal resistance. The chief fireman seeing it says, “Boys, just lay that crazy man one side till the fire is over, [laughter] and then we will settle the damage with him.” [Applause]. The people would say the fireman was right and I was wrong. And they would speak the truth. The constitutional rights which a citizen may have in times of peace and safety, must give way when in times of war public danger requires. But you say, “This war is a terrible thing; we want peace.” So do I want peace, but you won’t agree to my way of getting it. What is your way? “Compromise with them. We can never whip the rebels, we must compromise with them.” Now, I think we can whip them. With your help we

could do it very soon, but we shall put this rebellion down whether you help or not. [Applause].

So much has never been done in the world to put down an enemy as has been done by our administration since this rebellion began. We have conquered more *territory* in this war than Napoleon ever conquered, and it is territory that counts with us. Our great trouble is that the enemy have all creation to run over and keep out of the way. Suppose we had the entire force of the rebellion shut up within the State of Missouri? Where would the rebellion be now? But you say compromise. How shall we compromise? Farmers can compromise where there is a question regarding the line which separates their lands. They can fix a line which will do justice to both which will be equally fair for the one as for the other, and thus settle the matter forever. But how shall we compromise with these rebels? What are we disputing about? They say they will not submit to the same laws that govern you and me. We say they shall. Now, how will you manage that? You cannot compromise by saying that *they* need not obey them and *I* must. I will not stand that, I count myself just as good as Southern chivalry. Put us under the government on an equality if you will, but I shall submit to nothing less. You wrong me and you wrong the government by any other arrangement. I don't believe in getting peace. I don't believe we *can* get a valuable peace by compromise with rebels in arms. When you offer to compromise with such men, you encourage rebellion. Suppose a thief comes in the night and steals your horses and runs them off. In the morning you look for them. You come across an old log house out somewhere where you see the horses, and you are satisfied that the man who stole them is inside. You notice as you approach, that parts of the chinking between the logs are knocked out, and through the holes a row of guns protrudes. You get near enough to demand your property, and you do so. The thief threatens your life and says you can't have it. You come back to town and get the sheriff, and he gets a hundred men and you all go out again. As you approach the cabin the thieves threaten to fire their guns upon you. You see the thing is getting desperate. You can't easily overcome them, but you are afraid somebody will get hurt. While you pause to consider the matter a moment in comes an outsider whom any sensible man would take to be one of the gang and says, "I'll tell you how to get out of the scrape. Just compromise with them." You say, "How can we?" He replies, "Give up one-half of the property, and take the other half." You agree to it and the matter is soon arranged. You take one-half of your property, and come home without further trouble, and leave the other half to the thieves. You run to the house and say, "Wife, we came near having a bloody time; the fellows talked pretty saucy, and threatened to shoot us, but we scared them out and settled up without having anybody

hurt." [Laughter]. "Settled it," your wife would say, "how did you *settle* it?" "Why we had to give them one-half the horses and let them go, and they let us bring the other half home." "Why you coward," your wife would say. She would really think you a miserable coward, and would turn her back on you *all day and all night*. [Uproarious laughter].

Now, would this be a profitable way of settling with thieves? Would it be ~~an~~ honorable way? Would it free you from further depredations upon your property? Would such a "settlement" be likely to last long without further trouble? You know it would not. You know you would be offering a premium for stealing. You would be saying to thieves, "If you come to steal my property, I will give you one-half you get and let you go unharmed and unpunished." Now, it is just so with rebels in arms. If you do compromise with them and give them what they ask, you encourage them to rebel every time things do not go exactly to suit them. The people of the South rebelled because they were beaten at an election, we will say. Now, if you give up to them on that ground, how do you know that the "Black Republicans" will not rebel next time, if they are beaten? It may be the turn of the Abolitionists next. It won't do to settle in this manner. If the right to rebel is half acknowledged by compromise, if the weakness of the government is thus acknowledged we shall never be at peace. We shall soon have no government at all. The true way to secure peace is to crush the rebellion out, to grind the enemy to the earth. Give them Greek fire and sword and bayonet continually, without stopping a moment to give them breath, until the signal of unconditional surrender appears. When they are willing to obey the laws as they stand, when they lay down their arms, when they stop firing on the old flag, when they express a willingness to show proper respect for the authorities of our government, it will be time for us to stop fighting. We can then talk with them if they desire to reason about the matter. We must enforce the laws everywhere. The people everywhere must understand that there is no such thing as indulging in a factious opposition to the laws of the land with impunity, that there can be no such thing as a successful appeal from the ballot box to arms, and then we shall have peace worth having. [Great applause].

I feel like talking to you a little regarding our approaching election, because I feel that it is intimately connected with the war. The good name of our State depends very much upon the character of the men who fill its offices. Two men are mentioned in connection with the office of Governor. I know both men. I believe they are both brave men. Some are saying that Col. Stone is not a brave man. I think he is a brave man. It has been my duty to look after him somewhat in this respect. His promotion has come through my hands. I have had pretty good opportunities for judging, and I

assure you he would never have been promoted by any act of mine if I had not known him to be a brave man. [Applause]. I would not detract a particle from the good name of the man who led the noble Iowa second up the hill at Donelson. *Gen. Tuttle has proved his bravery well. But there are others as brave as he is. * * * There were thousands in the ranks that were just as brave as the men who led them, and they deserve their full share of the honor. I tell you the men in the ranks deserve *more* at your hands than the men who wear the straps. [Applause and cries of that's so]. You say if Col. Tuttle is a good man why not vote for him in preference to Col. Stone. Why, Col. Stone is a good man and his associates on the ticket are men of undoubted loyalty.

This cannot be said of the associates of Gen. Tuttle. He is on the ticket with Duncombe, as bitter a Copperhead as there is in the State; and with Mason, who pledged himself two years ago, when a candidate for the Supreme bench, to decide the law authorizing the issue of State bonds to be unconstitutional. The very bonds, colonel, (to Col. Brown of the Iowa third who was upon the stand) with which I obtained the money to clothe your regiment. Mason still stands pledged to this thing. Tuttle is dissatisfied with the treatment of the government towards Vallandigham. He is dissatisfied because Vallandigham was not hung. There are men in Iowa whom he says ought to be hung, and yet these persons are going to vote for him. There is something strange about this. I would not expect a man to support me whom I thought ought to be hung. I should not want him to vote for me. I tell you there must be a trick somewhere. Somebody is to be cheated. Either the Copperheads are to be cheated, or we are. When they are trying to make the soldiers and Copperheads vote together, the same ticket, you may be sure something is wrong. I can prevent myself from being cheated. I can keep myself perfectly safe by not voting that ticket. Are you willing to run the risk? (Cries of no! no!) I hope you will not. I wish I could talk to the soldiers a few minutes about this matter. But there is no need of it. Soldiers understand this matter as well as we do, and they are *more* in earnest. Suppose the ticket which Gen. Tuttle heads is elected. Then suppose it *may* happen, human life is uncertain, suppose Gen. Tuttle dies. Then you have Duncombe in the chair of the chief magistrate of the proud State of Iowa. An executive who will bitterly oppose the furnishing a man or a dollar to aid the government. I repeat, there is a trick somewhere. The plain open way is upon the other side.

Ladies, I have been talking to these men about their duties. They may not heed me, but I have faith to believe that you will. I therefore desire one word with you. You have a wonderful influence, and

*Democratic candidate for Governor, running against Col. Stone.

you can make it of great service in the struggle which is upon us. You have done well. Through the instrumentality of the Sanitary Commission, you have done a great, a noble, work. I wish you could know how heartily the brave boys—the poor, sick and wounded fellows—thank you, and pray God to bless you. But there is still more you can do. You can cast your influence against the enemies of the government at home. Set your faces against them. Let them know that you do not entertain a very high respect for them. And you young ladies should exert your influence in this direction. When you meet one of these young men who hang about home with no excuse, who is down on the Administration and the war, and the policy of the government generally, and who never has any fault to find with Jeff Davis or the Rebels—I say, when you meet such a young man at the lecture room, or the social party, or anywhere else, and he offers his arm to escort you, just tell him you prefer to be excused. [Laughter.] And should one of these young men have the impudence to ask you to marry him, just say, “No; I’m going to wait and marry a soldier.” [Applause.] I had a little talk with the boys back of Vicksburg, and I told them that all the prettiest and best Iowa girls were going to wait for husbands until they got home. I wish you could have heard the cheers upon cheers they sent up. The soldiers are almost all good cooks, you know, and that is one advantage. [Laughter.] And, again, the man who is false to his country, mark my word for it, *cannot* be true to you. * * *

In conclusion, let me appeal to you all to come forward and strive to heal up the divisions which exist among us. If we could only all take hold and strive earnestly together, we should soon make an end of this war. Division has killed thousands of our brave boys. It is killing them yet. Let us work together. Let us all with one united, earnest effort put our shoulders to the wheel and we shall soon have peace and a restored Union. [Long continued applause and three cheers for Governor Kirkwood.]

Speeches were made by Governor Kirkwood at several other places during the canvass.

Dubuque county had been noted as containing quite as large a per cent. of disloyalty as any other in the State, and one in which was manifested much opposition to the enforcement of a draft, if one should be ordered. It was also the residence of that prince of disloyalists and that preacher of treason, D. A. Mahoney.

At a Union meeting held here early in September, this is reported as a speech made there by the Governor:

Fellow-citizens of Dubuque :—My name is not on the program as one announced to speak here on this occasion; but being here, and being called upon, I will say a few words—because I have a few words that I want to say right here in Dubuque.

Perhaps you know I have been favoring the organization of volunteer companies and arming them in various places in the State. I find that there have been men base enough to say that these companies are being armed for the purpose of driving Democrats from the polls on election day. I also find that men are fools enough to believe it. And I want to tell you why I have done this.

The other day a man in Keokuk county got into a row very unfortunately for himself—got killed. His friends in that vicinity chose to believe that the perpetrators would not be called to an account and punished by the proper authorities, and accordingly attempted to take the matter into their own hands. The result has been such as to show that their services in the case were not needed.

You remember that the draft commenced in New York the other day and a mob was raised to stop it, and threats have been made that the same thing would be done here in Iowa—would be done here in Dubuque. And I wanted to talk here in Dubuque just long enough to tell you that it will be a very bad thing to start a mob here in opposition to the draft. It is for your own interest that no mob is started here. I tell you I will see to it that any mob that is started shall be put down for you! You see that I am not only a plain-looking man, but a plain-speaking man; and I intend to speak plainly.

When this war began Iowa had no history. People in the East knew there was such a State west of the Mississippi, but they supposed it was inhabited by a few white persons and a good many Indians, and that the balance of the population was composed of wolves. But Iowa's soldiers have been making a patriotic name for her. On every battlefield in the West since the commencement of the war they have fought, and fought with a bravery not surpassed by any other State in the Union. *Iowa has a name now.* And it will be a shame, a burning shame, men and women of Iowa, if the soldiers who are in front of the enemy cannot be assured that their wives and children and loved ones at home can be protected from traitors in the rear. Why, down in Keokuk county, the county records had been packed up and were about to be carried to a more safe place of deposit, and the wives and families of absent soldiers trembled and fled in fear from their homes. What will the soldiers think? What did the soldiers from Keokuk county think when they learned that their homes had been in jeopardy, and that their mothers, and wives, and daughters, and sisters were made to tremble for their lives, unprotected because they had given up those who once cared for them to the service of their country? Such a burning shame shall not disgrace our State and grieve

the hearts of our noble soldiers again without punishment, dire, swift and sure, reaches the traitor that engages in it. The homes and families and property of those who have gone to fight their country's battles must be protected; and may my God forget me in my hour of sorest need if I do not see to it that they *are protected*.

But the affair in Keokuk county was soon ended, and those who engaged in it will think twice, I am of the opinion, before they enlist in such an enterprise again. It commenced on Saturday. I received word of the position of affairs on Tuesday, and by Wednesday night I had five companies and one piece of artillery on the ground, and by Thursday night five more companies and another piece of artillery; and there was not a blank cartridge there. And I tell you if it becomes necessary for me to come here to Dubuque on the same errand, I shall *not bring a blank cartridge* here.



CHAPTER XIV.

Letter to the President—Last Annual Message—Gen. Baker's Compliment to the Governor—The Governor's to the General—Kirkwood's Gubernatorial Administration—Difficulties Encountered—His Able Assistants—Allison, Price, E. Clark, R. Clark, Hubbard, Baldwin, Nutt, Edwards, Ingham, Sanders, Dodge—Dodge Sent for Arms—Gets Them When Others Could Not—Is Appointed Colonel of the Fourth Iowa—The Governor Childless—Children in the Family—S. Kirkwood Clark—Enlistment—Wounded at Arkansas Post—Dies From the Wound—Letters From His Uncle—From His Colonel—Appointed Minister to Denmark.

ST. LOUIS, Feb. 2, 1863.

His Excellency the President :

SIR—Appreciating as I do the responsibilities and cares of your position, I have avoided obtruding upon you my opinions, except in cases wherein I would, in my judgment, have been wanting in my duty to my country had I forborne to do so. A case of this kind, in my judgment, now presents itself, illustrating a grave question of policy.

On the 8th of January Col. William T. Shaw received from Major-Gen. Curtis, commanding the Department of the Missouri, written orders to repair to Helena, Ark., and report to the officer commanding the Eastern District of Arkansas, for duty in organizing and mustering in troops to be raised from persons emancipated from servitude for garrison and other duties as contemplated in the proclamation of his Excellency the President of the United States of the 1st of January. In obedience to this order, Col. Shaw repaired to Helena, reaching that point about the 16th of January, and reported to Brigadier-General Gorman, commanding, delivering the order of General Curtis. General Gorman positively refused to recognize Col. Shaw as an officer under his command; positively refused to issue any orders or to afford Col. Shaw any facilities to execute the orders of Gen. Curtis; used grossly insulting language to Col. Shaw for being willing to act under such an order; stated that if he (Gen. Gorman) had any officer under his command that would help to execute such orders he would have him mustered out of service, and that if any man should attempt to raise negro soldiers there his men would shoot them. Throughout the entire interview his demeanor and language to Col. Shaw was grossly insulting and abusive. Shortly after this interview, a member of the Second Arkansas Cavalry handed to

Col. Shaw a letter directed on the outside of the envelope, "Col. Shaw, in charge of negro camp." The letter was as follows:

"EXECUTIVE OFFICE, HELENA, Ark., Jan. 23, 1865.

"*General Orders No. 2.*

"No person, or persons, in the State of Arkansas shall be enlisted, or recruited, to serve as soldiers except by an officer duly appointed by the Military Governor of this State.

"AMOS F. ENO,

"Secretary of State, *pro tem.*"

Col. Shaw finding he could not execute the order of Gen. Curtis, reported in person to him.

Mr. President, I do not desire to intermeddle in matters with which I have not legitimate concern, nor do I think I am so doing in bringing this matter to your notice. Col. Shaw is a gallant officer from the State of Iowa, commanding the Fourteenth Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry. He led his regiment bravely at Donelson and Shiloh; was taken prisoner at the latter place, and after a long and severe imprisonment, was paroled and exchanged in October last. Except in military position, he is at least Gen. Gorman's equal. He has been grossly insulted while endeavoring, as a good soldier should, to execute the orders of his superior officer.

But the precise point to which I desire to direct your attention is this: The proclamation issued by you on the 1st of January last was an act the most important you have ever performed and more important than, in all human probability, you will ever again perform. I shall not here argue whether its results will be good or evil.

Had you not believed the good of the country imperatively demanded its issuance, you would not have issued it. I most cordially and heartily endorse it. But, Mr. President, that proclamation cannot be productive of good results unless it is observed and put in force. You know its promulgation has afforded many men a pretext for arraying themselves against the country, and if, having been promulgated, it is allowed to be inoperative, its effects must be all evil and none good. Then how may it be executed? Can it be, will it be, by such men as General Gorman?

Permit me to say, in all frankness, but with proper respect and deference, the history of the world cannot show an instance where a policy of a nation to array men strongly for or against it was ever successfully carried into effect by its opponents. It is not in the nature of things it should be so, and with the facts herein presented within my knowledge, I can not feel that I have discharged my duty without saying that, in my judgment, it cannot produce the good effects its friends believe it is capable of producing, and must produce only evil, unless you depend for carrying it into effect upon those who believe it to be a wise and good measure.

Many men holding high commands in the armies of the Union openly denounce the proclamation as an "abolition" document, and say it has changed the war from a war for the Union into a war for freeing the negroes. This is caught up and goes through the ranks and produces a demoralizing effect on the men whose affiliation has been with the Democratic party, and they say "they did not enlist to fight for niggers;" while the men whose affiliation has been with the Republican party are disheartened and discouraged at discovering that the policy of the President, which they heartily endorse and approve, is ridiculed and thwarted by the men who should carry it into effect. If that proclamation is not to be respected and enforced, it had better never have been issued. I am unwilling to be misinterpreted or misunderstood. I am not influenced by party political considerations. There are few men in the country with whom I have differed more widely politically than with Gen. Butler, yet it is to me a source of great pleasure that he is to supersede, at New Orleans, a distinguished and able officer of my own political faith. Gen. Butler is prompt, ready and anxious to do the work assigned him, and such are the men we must have to obtain success. I care not what their political opinions have been, if they are unconditionally for the Union to-day.

Permit me further to call to your notice the document copied herein issued by "Amos F. Eno, Secretary of State, *pro tem.*" As the Governor of the loyal State of Iowa, duly elected by the people of that State, I would not feel at liberty to order that no person should be enlisted or recruited as soldiers in Iowa, except by an officer duly appointed by myself; and it certainly seems to me that the subordinate of a military governor, appointed by you, for a State in rebellion against the government, should not have that power. This act of this man is evidence of the determination of men holding their authority from you to disregard and bring into disrepute the policy you have felt bound to adopt. There is a further act of this Mr. Eno that I feel obliged to bring to your notice. He claims to act as the Adjutant-General of the Military Governor of Arkansas, and I am informed by authority, upon which I confidently rely, he turned from 100 to 150 sick and wounded soldiers out of a comfortable house, wherein they had been placed, in order to use the house as his headquarters; that these poor fellows were removed while it was raining, and that some of them actually died while being removed. There are many sick and wounded Iowa soldiers at the place, and some of them may have been among those thus treated. I would not, in my judgment, be discharging my duty to them, if I did not bring this matter to your notice and demand an investigation of the facts alleged.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

On the 11th day of January, 1864, the annual gubernatorial message was delivered, in which the State's finances were declared never to have been in a more healthy condition. School and University Funds and Lands, Des Moines River Grant, Swamp Land Grant, Agricultural College Grant, Supreme Court, State University, Charitable Institutions and State Historical Society, were treated upon and their condition and needs were presented and discussed. In regard to the latter the Governor says:

"Passing events render the work of this society vastly more important than ever before. We are now making history with wonderful rapidity, but are making it in a fragmentary manner. Future ages demand of us that we collect and preserve these fragments as material from which a full and reliable record of the great events of our day may be preserved. This, with the ordinary work of the society in collecting the early history of our State, is more than it can well perform with the means at its disposal. No man can be found to devote to it the necessary time without compensation. I recommend an appropriation of \$500 as a compensation for this purpose, in addition to the \$500 appropriated to it for other purposes." * * *

ORGANIZING AND ARMING VOLUNTEER COMPANIES.

I became satisfied during the early part of last summer that designing men in this, as in other loyal States, were making preparations for an armed resistance to the authority of the General Government. The law of Congress, providing for a draft to fill the ranks of the Union army, contained a provision that was eagerly seized upon to array the poorer of our people against the government, upon the specious pretense that the object of the law was to discriminate between the rich and the poor, to the injury of the poor.

The action of the government in freeing and using the slaves in the Rebel States for the suppression of the rebellion was represented as a scheme by the government to overrun the free States with the freed slaves, to the prejudice of the interest of the poor white men.

The government, in some instances, arrested and temporarily imprisoned, or sent beyond our lines, persons whose restraint the public safety required, and this was interpreted to mean an intention on the part of the government to break down all the defenses of civil liberty and to establish a despotism. The entire policy of our government, as interpreted by these men, was that the war was waged, not for the preservation of the Union, but for the abolition of slavery; that the object of the government in seeking to abolish slavery was to bring

the freed slaves North and force their labor into competition with that of the poor white man; that by the so-called Conscription Law, the government sought to force only the poor men into the ranks of the army to effect these objects so prejudicial to their interests, and that while these objects were being effected, the government intended to overthrow our free institutions and establish in their stead a despotism!

It is passing strange that intelligent men could be found so wicked as to make these statements, and that other men could be found so ignorant and foolish as to believe them. But so it was. These statements were made through the press and on the stump in the most violent and exciting language, apparently with all the earnestness of conviction, and thousands of honest but deluded men believed them, and in consequence entertained feelings of deep hostility to the government. In this excited state of the public mind, secret societies were organized in many, if not all, of the loyal States, the members of which were, to some extent, secretly armed for the avowed purpose of protecting themselves from what were called "Arbitrary Arrests." But I am satisfied it was with the intent on the part of the leaders to bring their members into armed collision with the General Government in case an attempt should be made to enforce the draft. The natural result of these teachings and this action was seen in the bloody riot that occurred in the chief city in the Union, and in similar smaller outbreaks in other places.

Under these circumstances my duty seemed to me to be plain and clear. I was bound to see to the enforcement of the laws, and the preservation of peace and good order; and when organized action was being taken through the state to prevent the one, and violate the other, I did not think my duty permitted me to wait until the evil was upon us, before I took steps for its prevention. I accordingly called upon the loyal men of the State who were willing to aid in the enforcement of the law, to organize a volunteer company in each county of the State. Such companies were promptly organized in most of the counties, of loyal and substantial citizens, and as they were organized I placed arms and ammunition in their hands to make their organizations effective. By these means a sufficient force was provided to preserve the peace of the State, and insure the enforcement of the law of Congress, without weakening our army facing the enemy by withdrawing any portion of it for that purpose, and in my judgment this state of preparation to preserve the peace, tended largely to prevent its violation. There was but a single occasion in which it was necessary to use the force, thus organized, and that was in Keokuk county.*

At the commencement of the session of the Ninth General Assembly, the State had organized and sent to the field fourteen regi-

*The events connected with that case have heretofore been narrated, see page 244-52.

ments of infantry, three regiments of cavalry, and three batteries of artillery; and had in process of organization two regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry. Of these regiments the first infantry was enlisted for three months, and had then been mustered out of service. All the others were enlisted for three years. Since the commencement of that session the two regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, then incomplete, have been organized, and in addition thereto twenty-four regiments of infantry, five regiments of cavalry, and one battery, and all for three years. Besides these complete organizations a large number of men have been enlisted for regiments in the field. * * *

Besides the troops thus furnished to the Army of the Union, there were organized five companies of mounted men for the protection of our northwestern frontier against Indians, and ten companies of mounted men on our southern borders, to protect the persons and property of our people on that line, against the depredations of organized bands of guerillas from Missouri. * * * The companies on the northwestern frontiers have all been disbanded, and their place supplied by troops of the United States. While these companies were in service, they were required to erect block houses and other buildings at different points for their own convenience, and to serve as rallying points for the people in case of attack. These buildings are now occupied in whole or in part by the United States troops on that line. I recommend such legislation as may be necessary for the preservation of these buildings. They may be useful in the future, in case of another outbreak of the Indians.

We owe much, very much, to the brave men who have gone out from among us to take their places in the ranks of the army, battling for the preservation of the Constitution and the Union. We owe much to those of them who are still living to fight for us, and much more to the families of those who have given their lives for our protection. Their duty to go was no greater than ours, but, in patriotism they far excelled us. How shall we pay this debt? The praise we so freely accord, the honors we so joyfully confer on them, and the gratitude we so deeply feel are but small recompense. Of those who have died in the hospital and on the battlefield, many have left behind them young children, who need care, protection and education, which the State is under the most solemn obligation to supply. Some of the soldiers yet living have been so far disabled, that they cannot properly care for themselves. These we should support and maintain. I very earnestly recommend that either wholly by the State, or by means of aid furnished by the State to those of our people who may be disposed to enter upon this work, ample provision be made for a home in which the children of deceased soldiers may be cared for, and educated, and in which those of our soldiers who may not be able to support

themselves may pleasantly live the honored guests of a grateful people. * * *

Much has been done by sanitary associations in this and other States for the health and comfort of our troops in the field and in the hospital, and for the support of their families at home.

The business of the General Sanitary Association, and of the local aid societies in furnishing supplies to our soldiers in the field, has now become well arranged and systematized and consequently much more effective. This work can be done much better by those societies than by the State, and I recommend that the State leave the matter in their hands. There should be however a liberal appropriation for a contingent fund, under the control of the Governor, from which he can upon emergency furnish aid to those societies, and to sick and disabled soldiers under special circumstances, and by means of which he can send to and keep in the field such agents for the State, as may be necessary for the comfort and well being of our soldiers.

I very earnestly recommend that some systematic mode of furnishing aid to the needy families of our soldiers be adopted. Whether this can be best done by monies furnished by the State and distributed by persons appointed by the State, or through the instrumentality of local aid societies, is a question of doubt. It is very certain the work should be done in some way, and I have no doubt your wisdom will ascertain and adopt the proper mode. * * *

NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

I cannot close this communication, and with it my official connection with the people of the State, without adverting to the condition of national affairs in which we are all so deeply and vitally interested. The war for the destruction of the Union on the one hand, and for its preservation on the other, still goes on. During the present year the successes of the Union arms have been so numerous and so important, that the public mind appears to have settled down into the belief that our ultimate success is certain, and not far distant; and is now to some extent occupied with the question of reconstruction so-called. The question as to the manner in which, and the terms and conditions on which, the people within the territory composing the rebel States can again take part with the people of the loyal States in administering the affairs of the General Government.

The President has recently issued a proclamation to the people of the rebel States, in which he proposes to them such terms and conditions as in his judgment are right and proper. He proposes in substance, that as soon as the number of the voting population of any one of those States, equal to one-tenth of the entire voting population of the State, as shown at the last presidential election, shall take an oath, the form of which is prescribed, and shall establish a new gov-

ernment, Republican in form, and consistent with the terms of the prescribed oath, such government shall be recognized as the true government of the State and protected as such. * * *

(Here follow the exceptions prescribed by the President:)

The terms and conditions proposed by the President are that the party guilty of treason shall swear :

First—That he will faithfully support, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States and the union of the States thereunder.

Second—That he will abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not repealed, modified or held void by Congress or by decision of the Supreme Court; and,

Third—That he will abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President, made during the existing rebellion, having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified by the decisions of the Supreme Court.

Are these terms and conditions reasonable? * * * This is just what it is the duty of every citizen to do—to abide by and support the law until changed by the law-making power or declared void by the courts. * * * In imposing these terms and conditions on those in rebellion against our government who may desire to lay down their arms, the President is but requiring of them the performance of a duty required of all men who have remained loyal. * * *

It is directly or impliedly admitted by all that slavery is the cause of the civil war now desolating our land, although different parties endeavor to throw the immediate blame upon their adversaries. The anti-slavery men of the country say that slavery is the cause of the war because, being founded on force, it is necessarily aggressive in its character; that it necessarily makes slaveholders, as a class, haughty, overbearing, impatient of control, and unwilling to submit their opinions to those of a majority whom they consider their inferiors. Some of the Rebels admit frankly that the desire to perpetuate slavery, and to make it the "corner-stone" of the new Confederacy, caused the rebellion; while others and their apologists generally insist that the cause of our troubles is, not slavery itself, but the fanaticism of anti-slavery men on the subject of slavery; and there is still another class of our people who declare that, in their judgment, the cause of the war is to be found in the fanaticism on the subject of slavery among the extremists North and South. These are but various statements of the same thing, showing that however prejudice or partisanship may seek to evade or disguise the fact, our people generally recognize slavery as the cause of the war.

It is also true that slavery has been very much weakened since the war began; very large numbers of slaves have been set free in fact, while other very large numbers, yet under partial control of their

masters, have been so operated on by events as to make them unfit for slaves. It is indeed thought by many North and South that, in any event slavery will perish. * * *

But we should not permit the discussion of these or similar questions to divert us from the paramount purpose of prosecuting the war earnestly and vigorously, until all men in rebellion against the government shall either voluntarily or by compulsion lay down their arms. In this consists our only safety, and I feel well assured that you will, so far as depends on you, see to it that Iowa in the future, as in the past, will do her full share of this good work promptly and well.

The position occupied by our State in this war for the preservation of the Union is a proud and enviable one. From the first outbreak of the rebellion until the present time, Iowa has neither faltered nor wavered in the discharge of her duty. In both branches of the National Council she has presented an unbroken front to treason and rebellion, and has given a steady and undivided support to the General Government. Her State government in all its branches has given evidence of her unflinching and unconditional loyalty and devotion to the good cause. Her people have at all times and promptly filled all requisitions made upon them for troops to fill the ranks of the Union armies; and the men she has sent to the field have been at least second to none in all soldierly qualities.

To these men yet another word is due from me. When this war began ours was a new State without a history. To-day her name stands on one of the brightest pages of our country's record—graven there by the bayonets of our brave soldiers—and that page is all over glowing with the proofs of their heroism and devotion. We have sent to the field no regiment of which we do not feel justly proud, and the bare mention of the names of many of them stirs the blood and warms the heart of every Iowan.

It may perhaps be permitted me to say that I trust when the history of the gallantry and devotion of these men shall be written, the position I have held will of necessity connect my name humbly and not discredibly with theirs, and that this trust affords compensation for somewhat of toil and care, which have attended that position, and should be sufficient to satisfy an ambition greater than mine.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

In making his annual report to the Governor on the 11th of January, 1864, Adjutant-General Baker, as this would be the last one he would make to his present superior officer, under whom he had served from his first appointment in 1861, and with whom his relations had been of the most

friendly and confidential character, pays him this high compliment:

"As we are about to terminate our official connection, I trust that it will not be deemed improper for me to allude to the manner in which you have directed the military matters of the State, including not only the organization of the militia companies, the arming and equipping of the same, and the preparations made against the difficulties on the borders and elsewhere, as well as the organization of the volunteers for United States service. Prompt in your decisions, decided in your actions, faithful in your duty, you have met every emergency with an energy and determination unsurpassed in any Executive of any State in the Union."

This is what the Governor said in his last message to the General Assembly in regard to his Adjutant-General:

"The office of the Adjutant-General has been since the commencement of the war, and still is, a very important one. The labor and responsibility of the Adjutant-General have been very great. The labor has always been well and promptly performed, and the responsibility cheerfully borne. The books of the office are well systematized and kept in most excellent condition. * * * It affords me great pleasure to say that whatever of success has attended the raising and organization of troops in this State is due to the efficient services of the present incumbent of that office."

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }
WASHINGTON, March 18th, 1863. }

Samuel J. Kirkwood Esq.,
Iowa City, Iowa.

SIR:—The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate having appointed you to be Minister Resident of the United States to Denmark, I have the honor to announce the same to you, and to request that you will inform this department how soon, in the event of your accepting the appointment, you will be prepared to proceed to Copenhagen.

I am, sir,
Your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA, }
IOWA CITY, March 20th, 1863. }

SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 18th inst., announcing to me my appointment as Minister Resident of the United States to Denmark, and enquiring how soon, in case of my acceptance, I will be prepared to proceed to Copenhagen.

I beg leave to tender my thanks for the honor conferred upon me by this appointment.

The tender of this position to me was wholly unexpected, and consequently I desire a short delay and some information before I make my determination. My principal reason for asking delay is this: The condition of affairs in this State at this time is somewhat critical and many of our people have expressed to me a strong desire that I shall continue in the discharge of my present official duties for a few months longer. Will you be kind enough to inform me how long I can be permitted to remain here in case I accept the appointment? I also wish to know what attaches, if any, belong to this mission and how they are appointed and paid.

Upon receiving this information I will immediately determine the question of acceptance. Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State,
Washington City, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }
WASHINGTON, April 18th, 1863. }

Samuel J. Kirkwood, Esq.,

Governor of Iowa, Iowa City.

SIR:—Your letter of the 13th instant has been received, and the reasons you assign for declining to accept the mission to Denmark, which has been tendered to you, until the expiration of your term of service as Governor of Iowa, are entirely satisfactory. You intimate, however, that it is possible these reasons may have less weight with you some few months hence, and that you may then, perhaps, feel at liberty to accept the appointment and to proceed to Copenhagen before the close of your gubernatorial term. Under these circumstances, I see no objection to your holding the appointment under consideration for a few months at least.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }
WASHINGTON, April 4th, 1863. }

Samuel J. Kirkwood Esq.,

Iowa City, Iowa.

SIR:—Your letter of the 30th ultimo has been received. In the event of your acceptance of the appointment as Minister Resident to Denmark, it is deemed desirable that you should proceed to Copenhagen without much delay—say within two months. If, however, the public interests in the State over which you preside, should in your judgment, render it necessary that your departure should be delayed,

beyond that time, you have the President's permission to accept the appointment with the understanding that you are to set out for your post as soon as you can do so without detriment to those interests.

The law makes no provision for attaches to the legation.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA, }
IOWA CITY, April 13, 1863. }

Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State,

Washington City, D. C.

SIR:—The next regular session of the General Assembly of this State will commence on the second Monday (the 11th day of January), 1864, and my term of service as Governor will close as soon thereafter as the votes can be counted and my successor inaugurated. It will be very agreeable to me to accept the Mission to Denmark, if I can be permitted to do so at the expiration of my term of service as Governor, and after examining the matter carefully I cannot, consistently with my sense of duty to the people of my State, accept it on any other terms, at this time.

It is possible, that a few months hence, the condition of affairs here will be so changed, that I may feel at liberty to leave the State at an earlier date, but, it is I presume desirable to have the question of my acceptance definitely settled and I therefore say that, if I can be permitted to remain at home until the expiration of the term of my present office I will be glad to accept the position, and if not, that I very respectfully decline it. Of course, if my acceptance on this condition can be permitted in view of the public interests, my compensation as Minister Resident to Denmark will not commence until the expiration of the term of my present office.

I am unwilling to have you suppose that I sought this position and then hesitated as to its acceptance after having it tendered to me. I was informed in December last by the delegation in Congress, from this State, that my name had been submitted to the President, and early in January I wrote them that I could not, for the reasons above stated accept the position tendered. I heard nothing more of the matter until I saw in the newspapers the announcement of my nomination and confirmation.

I very much regret that I am compelled to send you what I presume is substantially a declination of a position which, under other circumstances it would be very agreeable to me to accept.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

With reference to his acceptance Mr. Allison writes :

DUBUQUE, March 15th, 1863.

DEAR GOVERNOR:—I congratulate you on your confirmation as Resident Minister to Denmark. I regret very much that you are called to leave the State at so critical a period in its history. Your State administration has been successful and impartial. You have won the esteem and affection of the people. I fear very much that we shall find difficulty in choosing a successor who will sustain our good name and fame. I would like very much to see you before you leave the State. Could you not hold the position in abeyance, until your term expires, or very nearly so ? We will have a bitter contest this fall, and will need all the wisdom, influence and ability we have to confront the rebels at home. You can be of great service to us, and thereby to the country, by remaining here most of the summer, if no longer. Whenever you go however, you will bear with you the best wishes of the loyal people of Iowa, whom you have so well and faithfully served.

Sincerely your friend and servant,

WM. B. ALLISON.

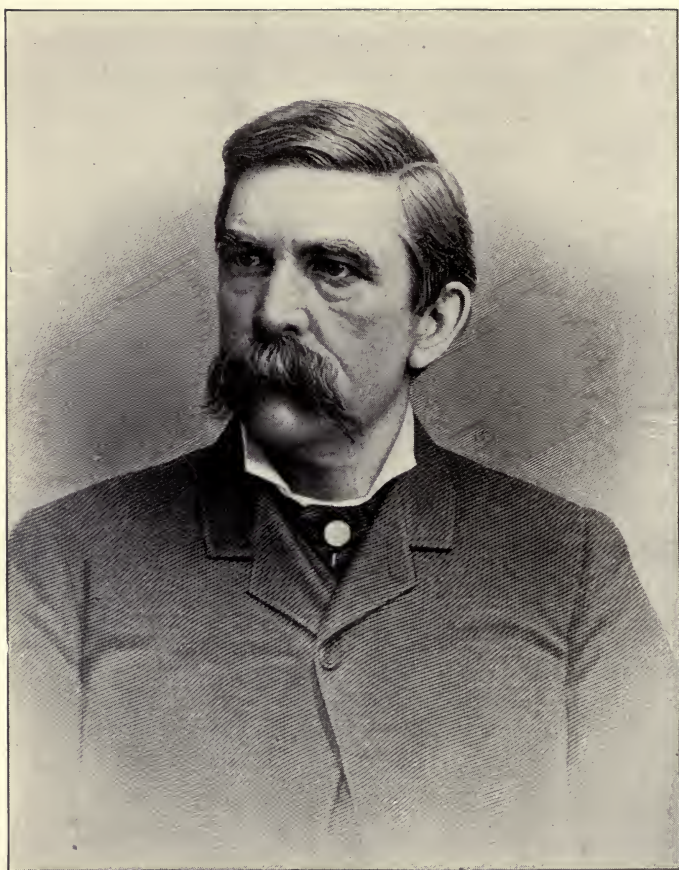
The gubernatorial administration of Governor Kirkwood forms the most brilliant period in the whole history of our State. Since its organization, never has history been more rapidly, more interestingly, more intelligently, more glowingly, or more profitably made. It was, and must ever remain, our heroic age. Its leading participants will ever be our leading historical heroes. Entering upon the duties of the office during, or immediately after, a period of great financial depression, with a treasury wholly depleted, with public credit at its lowest ebb, when the war cry was raised the Governor had but to ask for funds, when the vaults of our banks and the pockets of our capitalists, though neither were very plethoric, at his magic call poured forth every dollar they could spare; bonds were voted and issued by the hundred thousand, till from these sources and taxes levied more than a million of dollars were poured into the treasury, and disbursed on that line of economic expenditure that lies between waste and extravagance on the one hand, and parsimony and stinginess on the other.

With no military organization except here and there a

single company, poorly armed, with no State arsenal and no arms except a few disabled muskets scattered hither and thither, he had but to sound his patriotic bugle note, where no militia had heretofore been listed; when 60,000 valiant soldiers rushed forward to enlist under his banner and go forth at his command to fight the battles of their country, where traitors were trying to destroy the best government that was ever organized and established to bestow blessings upon civilized man. Under laws passed upon his recommendation, over 86,000 State militia were enrolled and more than ninety companies were organized that were afterwards, under his successors, formed into eighteen battallions and regiments and armed for home protection.

His whole administration was loaded down with herculean labors, but he proved to be the modern Hercules that could perform them all. Immense responsibilities were heaped upon him, but he met them all with a boldness and alacrity, coupled with an intelligence, an integrity and foresight, that enabled him to discharge all duties imposed upon him with honor to himself and to the advancement of the public welfare.

In the selection of his aids and trusted lieutenants were included such men as William B. Allison, Hiram Price, Ezekiel Clark, A. W. Hubbard, Caleb Baldwin, Rush Clark, John Edwards, S. R. Ingham, H. C. Nutt, Ad. H. Sanders, G. M. Dodge, and others. The selection was a very wise and fortunate one, both for the Governor himself and for the various branches of the service in which they were respectively engaged, not one but that proved himself to be the right man in the right place, possessed of sound discretion, stern integrity, undoubted loyalty and rare executive ability. As showing the confidence afterwards reposed in them by the people, it may be mentioned that six of them were afterwards sent to Congress, one being afterwards a colleague of the Governor in the United States Senate, in a seat which he still holds.



G. M. Dodge

In the absence of telegraph communication and fast mail facilities, it often became necessary for some of these aids to be entrusted with full discretionary executive powers, particularly those who were to act on the southern and north-western border, remote from the Executive office and not in ready communication with it, and in no case were those powers exceeded or abused, but were used with eminent ability in the promotion of the public good.

Among these men one of the most determined and persevering was G. M. Dodge. In the commencement of the war one of the greatest needs was arms. For the purpose of obtaining them the Governor issued the following commission:

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, }
DES MOINES, IOWA, May 25, 1861. }

Capt. G. M. Dodge:

DEAR SIR—I hereby confide to you a communication to Major-Gen. Harney, at St. Louis, desiring from him, or, through him, from the Secretary of War, 3,000 stand of arms from the command at Fort Kearney, Neb. Should it be deemed proper by you, when at St. Louis, upon conference with Gen. Harney, to go to Washington City in order the more readily to obtain these arms, I desire you to go there at once. When the order is obtained you will report to me immediately for further instructions.

Respectfully,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD,

Governor of Iowa.

Gen. Dodge at this time was captain of an independent military company, which he had some years before organized, and which was known as the "Council Bluffs Guard." He tried to get it into the First Regiment, and, failing here, into the Second, but Governor Kirkwood refused to enlist it in either, thinking it would be needed for the protection of the southern border from Missouri Secessionists or the western Indians.

So anxious was Dodge to enter upon active military service that he told the Governor he should seek service in the Regular Army. The Governor then issued to him the

above commission, which he at once proceeded to execute. Failing to get arms, either at St. Louis or Fort Leavenworth, he went direct to Washington. On his arrival there, Cameron, then Secretary of War, said "every State was applying for arms and he had none to give them." Gen. Fitz Henry Warren went with him, and they urged the matter so strenuously that Cameron told Dodge that if he could find any arms, he could take them. He did find some arms, and he took them, for he had a friend in the Ordnance Department that put him on track of 6,000 smooth-bore Springfield muskets, which he got upon the order, which he sent at once, in charge of a man, to Davenport and Quincy, where they were used to arm the Second and Third Iowa Regiments and afterwards the Fourth. Some of them were used to displace old guns formerly issued that were so old, thin and poor they were as likely to kill those who fired them as those at whom they were fired.

Cameron offered him a captaincy in the Fifteenth United States Infantry, and after obtaining the arms, the colonelcy of the Fourth Iowa. The latter was tendered him, as Cameron said, in consideration of his successful efforts in obtaining arms, when such men as Senator Grimes, Gen. S. R. Curtis and others had failed. He telegraphed the Governor, "Shall I accept?" and got an affirmative answer.

Cameron and Warren both wished him to take the brigadier-generalship afterwards offered to and finally obtained by Curtis, but he declined it, not then having confidence in himself of being able to fill it, and lacking in experience, though he had a thorough and complete military education.

Gen. Grant, in after years, said he was the best railroad builder and the best railroad destroyer in the Federal army. In destroying Rebel railroads he could give the heated rails a twist which nothing but Federal ingenuity and Federal machinery could untwist.

Of the military company under Capt. Dodge and other ones like it, Governor Lowe, in his last message, said:

“There are several independent military companies in the State to whom arms have been distributed. Yet there is no law of the State under which they are organized, or that would strictly authorize the Executive to call them into the field in cases requiring their services.”

The Governor has never been blessed with children of his own, and yet his home has rarely been without more or less of those of his own kindred, and it has been a great gratification to him, as well as to his matronly wife, to have them under their parental care. The Kirkwood hearthstone has always been one around and on which children were welcome to prank and play, and a couple of grandchildren, son and daughter of an adopted daughter of Governor and Mrs. Kirkwood, are occupying it for that purpose to-day; and there they will be welcome as long as the embers remain warm upon it. The one who was most near and dear to them was one who bore his name, Samuel Kirkwood Clark, son of his brother-in-law, Hon. Ezekiel Clark, and he went to live with his uncle almost from the time of leaving his cradle, his mother dying when he was but five years old, and he grew up to the age of incipient manhood, if not the pet, at least the pride of the family. He was endowed with all those stern, rugged virtues in his love of truth and justice that would have made him, with his training under his uncle, a fit person upon whom the mantle of that uncle could most fitly fall when it should leave the shoulders of him who had first worn it. But though he was the crown jewel of the family, he was a willing offering on the altar of his country's good. He gave himself to her service at his nation's call, enlisting November, 1861, at the age of eighteen, in the Fourth Iowa Cavalry. He filled the post of second lieutenant until his promotion to the position of adjutant in the Twenty-fifth Iowa Infantry. Engaging in the battle of Arkansas Post, on the 11th of January, 1863, he received a severe wound,

which terminated fatally on the 20th of February, in the hospital at St. Louis. His uncle and aunt were with him much of the time during his last illness.

The colonel of the regiment, reporting to Adjutant-General Baker, the day after the battle, says:

"Adjutant S. Kirkwood Clark was wounded severely by a gun-shot wound in the left leg just below the knee. I do but justice when I notice the Adjutant in this report for his cool and gallant conduct as well in this fight as the one in the vicinity of Vicksburg. He has received and has well earned the praise of the entire regiment."

As showing how his memory is cherished where he spent most of his life, the camp of the Sons of Veterans located at Iowa City is called "Kirkwood Clark Camp."

In writing home, his letters commenced "Dear Uncle," and they, when not of an official character, closed with from "your son."

While he was in school his uncle writes him:

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
DES MOINES, IOWA, Jan. 29, 1860. }

Dear Kirk:—I have been so busy that I have not found time to write you until to-day. I do not want you to fail to write to me because I do not answer all your letters. One object for wishing you to write to me is to have you improve in writing by practice.

When your father was here he related to me a conversation he had had with your teacher, which gave me great pleasure. Your teacher says you are well behaved and gentlemanly in your deportment as a scholar, diligent and attentive as a student, of clear head and strong mind, and that you occupy, to a great extent, the position of leader among your fellow students.

You can hardly understand how much I was gratified to hear this, because I think you cannot understand the kind and extent of the interest I feel in your progress in life and your welfare. The character given you by your teacher goes far towards making up the character of the true man.

Allow me to give you a word of warning. If it be so that you occupy, to some extent, the position of leader or umpire among your fellows, that position has not only its pleasures and advantages, but its dangers and difficulties. You must not allow yourself to become proud and overbearing. You must not use your position to put down any one who is weaker than yourself, either mentally or physically, but rather to support and defend such—in short, you must use your



S. Kirkwood Clark

influence to see that "*the right*" is done at all times and under all circumstances, and you must not allow *anything* to make you flinch from seeing it done. You must not be quarrelsome. Avoid all personal difficulties, if possible, but if compelled to engage in such, then so bear yourself that your adversary will not wish to come in contact with you again. No man is fit to control others who cannot control himself.

Will you allow me to say a few words to you about smoking. I don't intend to scold. You are too old to be scolded. You are old enough to be argued with—in short, you are in feeling, if not in years, a man. Your aunt Jane has scolded you about smoking. She made a mistake in so doing, but you should not feel angry with her for so doing, because in what she did she acted for what she thought your good. She has borne much for and from you. You should bear much for and from her. I do not intend to scold you about smoking. I do not intend to ask you to quit smoking as a personal favor to myself, because this might look like trying to use a personal influence with you. I intend merely to reason the matter with you. A perfect man, aside from all questions of religion and morals, is a man who has a sound mind in a sound body. Now smoking injures both mental and physical health, weakens both body and mind. Examine and see if this is not so. Talk with medical men and those who are not medical men on the subject; read books that treat of it; then if you find the facts to be as I have stated, determine about what you should do. Have you not courage to do what is right and necessary for your health? The habit with you is new and therefore more easily broken. Think of all this and write me what you think.

I send you a copy of my inaugural address. It is praised by some of my party friends and denounced by some of my party enemies. You are neither the one or the other. Write me just what you think about it. Write me what you think about all these things. Take your time to do so, half a dozen evenings, if necessary, and half a dozen sheets of paper, if necessary. I will read it all. You are at entire liberty to show this to your father, if you want to talk about it with him, and I think it would be well for you to do so. He may help you to read it; perhaps his help may be necessary.

Very truly, your friend and affectionate uncle,
S. J. KIRKWOOD.

DES MOINES, IOWA, Jan. 1, 1862.

Dear Kirk :—A happy New Year to you. I send you a New Year's gift, in the shape of your commission, so that you are a lieutenant and eighteen years old on the same day.

Be a "good boy" and do your duty manfully, and you will always be sure of the affection of your uncle

KIRKWOOD.

On hearing of his death, his colonel writes:

YOUNG'S POINT, LA., March 14, 1863.

My Dear Sir :—Your favor of the 25th ult., is received. I had heard of the Adjutant's death several days before your letter came to hand. The news of his death cast a gloom over the entire regiment, men as well as officers, and little groups gathered in almost every street of our camp giving and receiving the sad intelligence.

It is not flattery or idle words to say that the loss of no officer would have been more deplored than his. You say truly "he was an honorable, noble boy," and had, by strict attention to his duties, by the energetic manner of always doing his duty, by his kindness to all and by his cool, gallant conduct at the hill of Vicksburg and Post Arkansas, endeared himself to all of us. None speak of him but to praise, and I do not think he had an enemy in the whole regiment.

I cannot express in words to you, my dear sir, how I mourn him, and have only heart to say that up to this period of my life I have had but two among all my companions whom I really *loved*—Frank Mann and S. Kirkwood Clark—one was shot down by my side at Wilson's Creek and the other I lost at Post Arkansas.

I envy each his death. God grant when in His good providence I am to die, I may meet a soldier's death and die, like Frank and the Adjutant, charging a Rebel battery.

I am, sir,

Very truly yours,

GEO. A. STONE.

Samuel J. Kirkwood, Iowa City.

Resolutions deploring his loss, recounting his virtues and condoling with friends were passed at a meeting of the officers of the regiment, and at a meeting of the students of the State University, where the Adjutant had been a student with them.

CHAPTER XV.

Chosen United States Senator—Discusses the Homestead Bill—Appointed on the Committee on Pensions and on Public Lands—Ceremonies on the Death of Lincoln—Funeral Oration—Early Railroad Building—Bonds Voted—Bonds Exchanged for Stock—Stock Becomes Nearly Worthless—Bonds Still Valid—Anti-Bond Meeting—Resolutions Passed—Nominated for Governor Again—Enthusiasm of Convention—Informed of Nomination—A Reluctant Answer Sent. Guns Turned on Him by the Enemy—Speech in Des Moines—One at Dubuque—Temperance Question—Favors Local Option—Discusses National Politics.

Governor Kirkwood, in bidding adieu to the Executive office which he had for four of the most eventful years of the State's history so ably and satisfactorily filled, did not return to the mill and farm, but built a comfortable and spacious residence on a few acres just outside the city, but which has since been taken into it, and the street on which it stands is named Kirkwood avenue, and this has ever since been and is now his home. He associated with his brother-in-law, J. E. Jewett, and together they engaged in the practice of law; but he hardly got well into practice till, on the 13th of January, 1866, he was elected to the United States Senate to fill the unexpired term of James Harlan, who had resigned to take a seat in Mr. Lincoln's cabinet as Secretary of the Interior.

When the Senatorial canvass opened the names of Jas. Harlan, S. J. Kirkwood, John A. Kasson, A. W. Hubbard, F. H. Warren, Wm. Vandever, Gen'l G. M. Dodge and E. W. Eastman were presented by their respective friends for the position, but it soon became evident that only Messrs. Harlan and Kirkwood stood any chance, with the possibility that Mr. Kirkwood alone would be chosen for the unexpired part of Mr. Harlan's term, and also for the full term follow-

ing. But the result was that Mr. Kirkwood got the short term, and Mr. Harlan the long term to be entered upon when he should retire from the cabinet.

Governor Kirkwood did not enter the Senate at a time when, or under circumstances which were particularly favorable to his taking a prominent part in its deliberations. It was not till some time after the session had commenced, when all the standing committees had been appointed, and the performance of their various duties had been entered upon and the work they had in hand had been somewhat advanced, yet the records show that he was prompt and constant in his attendance, and took a lively interest in the business transacted. The questions upon which he spoke more at length than on any other, and then not at any great length, for he did not consume much of the time of the Senate, were the establishment of an Arsenal and Armory at Rock Island, the admission of Nebraska into the Union as a State, the change of the pre-emption and homestead laws in their application to some of the lately seceded States, and the Niagara Ship Canal.

The vote taken by the people of Nebraska on the question of admission as a State, resulted in a majority of but 100 in favor of admission, and when the question of admission came before the Senate on the 27th of July 1866, the opponents of admission claimed that two military companies of Iowa soldiers voted at that election in that territory. In the discussion Mr. Kirkwood said :

“I wish to make a single remark in regard to this allegation about our Iowa soldiers voting in Nebraska. I was perfectly confident when the Senator from Wisconsin said before, that two companies of an Iowa regiment had voted there, that he was in error, because we had no Iowa regiment or part of a regiment in Nebraska at that time. It now turns out that the allegation is, that certain men from Iowa, forming companies in a Nebraska regiment, voted there. In the commencement of the war the Iowa troops could not get into the field as fast as they wanted to, and there were some men who went from Iowa and entered the First Nebraska regiment, forming wholly or partially

two companies. I do not know whether they were all made up of Iowa men or not. This was in 1861. The term of enlistment was for three years. All of those men who could have been in the first Nebraska regiment in June 1866, must have been such of them as re-enlisted as veterans. Now, counting that the whole of them originally were from Iowa, then deducting the number who died from disease, the number mustered out, the number killed in battle and those who suffered from other casualties, and then the number of them that did not re-enlist as veterans, and you may have some idea of the number of original men enlisted in Iowa in 1861, remaining in 1866. I am satisfied it amounts to nothing on the vote."

Upon the question of restricting the homesteads and pre-emptions in the late rebellious States to eighty acres each, Mr. Kirkwood said :

"Since the bill has been reported by the committee, I have been induced somewhat to change my opinion upon this point, not for the reasons alluded to by the Senator from Indiana, but for others that I will now state. Since the bill was reported I have had a conversation with a gentleman from Florida, which is one of the States included in this bill. He suggested to me this idea which seems to me to be reasonable : He says, that if we restrict the amount of a homestead in these States to eighty acres, leaving the amount of a homestead in other States at one hundred and sixty acres, our action will tend to divert immigration from the States named. For instance the commissioner of immigration of Iowa, if we have such an officer, is in New York, and there is a similar officer or agent there from Florida, each endeavoring to induce immigration to his State. The agent of Iowa says to the immigrant: 'If you go to Iowa you can get a homestead of one hundred and sixty acres of the public land;' and the agent of Florida, says: 'If you come to Florida, you can get a homestead of eighty acres of public land, and only that much.' The result as he argued—and it seems to me very forcibly argued—would be that immigrants seeking homesteads would go to those States in which they could secure one hundred and sixty acres of land, and would pass by those states in which they could get only eighty acres. This argument when presented to me struck me very forcibly. Although I may not agree with some Senators in regard to some matters concerning these seceded States, I certainly do not desire to do them any injustice; I do not desire to take any action that will injure their material interests, and I am strongly inclined for the reason stated by me to agree with the Senator from Indiana, that it would not be good policy to restrict the homesteads in these States to eighty acres. If we do so it will certainly give to those States where there are public lands, in which the homestead is not restricted, the advantage of inducing immigrants to go to

those States, and it will tend to keep immigration from States named in this bill. For this reason therefore, although I felt otherwise in committee, I am now strongly disposed to favor the amendment offered by the Senator from Indiana. I think it would be but fair to these States. * * * I have just sent to the committee room for some information in regard to the amount of public lands within these States derived from the Commissioner of the General Land Office, and I have it here. It appears that the quantity of surveyed unsold public lands in the States named in this bill is over 46,000,000 of acres. I was, as I before said, strongly in favor of the eighty acre limitation until the suggestion to which I have alluded was made to me by the gentleman from Florida, to whom I have referred. There is however, one consideration which operates much upon my mind ; whatever we do here unfortunately is misrepresented among the people to be affected by this bill. There are men who make it their business to misrepresent all we do ; and to give it not only the worst possible construction, but constructions wholly impossible. Now if we make a distinction between the amount of the homestead in these States, and the amount of the homestead in the other States, that fact will be seized upon by this class of men to further prejudice these people against our action here. That is the reason why I should be willing to see the limitation of eighty acres stricken out, and one hundred and sixty acres inserted in lieu of it. Another reason operating on my mind is that this limitation will really tend, or may at least tend to retard immigration to these States of persons from other States, a thing that I do not desire to see. I am strongly impressed with the belief that we had better leave the amount of the homestead in these States precisely as it is in the other States, making no distinction between these and the other States, and then there will be no cause for complaint.

I fully concur in the propriety of withholding the lands from sale in the States named, and allowing them to be taken as homesteads. We all know that there are large amounts of land scrip now in circulation; and, as soon as the land offices in those States are opened again, the best of the lands will be swallowed up by persons holding this scrip, and the poor men of this region will not be able to get hold of the lands. I will vote for the bill either with or without the eighty acre limitation, but I think it would be better for us to leave the homesteads in these States at one hundred and sixty acres as in other States."

Mr. Kirkwood was assigned a place on the Committee on Pensions and also on Public Lands. As a member of the latter committee he reported an amendment to a bill granting a right to an Iron Mining and Manufacturing Company, to enter upon and purchase a portion of the unsurveyed public

lands for the purpose of establishing an iron foundry. The following is a portion of the debate on the bill and amendment :

MR. GRIMES—I should like to inquire from the Senator from Indiana, under what law this New York and Montana Iron Mining and Manufacturing Company was incorporated, and whether he has seen the charter.

MR. HENDRICKS—The bill was not under my charge in the committee. The Senator from Iowa (Mr. Kirkwood), had charge of the bill and made the investigation.

MR. KIRKWOOD—I will give my colleague the information he desires upon that point. This company was chartered under a law of the State of New York, and I hold in my hand a copy of the articles of incorporation. They were submitted to the Senator from New York (Mr. Harris), who is a member of that committee, and are in accordance with the laws of New York.

While I am up I will say a word in regard to the bill itself and in explanation of its provisions. The public lands of Montana Territory have not been surveyed, and therefore can only be located under the pre-emption laws, limiting the amount to one hundred and sixty acres. Mining is being carried on there to a very considerable extent, and in mining and other operations there, iron is necessarily used to a large extent. We know that now the iron used in that territory has to be furnished from the iron manufactories of Pennsylvania and elsewhere, and carried to St. Louis and up the Missouri River to some point from which it is started on wheels out to Montana, or else brought by rail to Iowa, wheeled across Iowa, and then by wheels carried to Montana. The result is that the freight upon the iron used in that Territory must be from thirty to thirty-five cents a pound. This state of affairs must necessarily be a great drawback upon the prosperity of that Territory, and if we can in any legitimate way reduce to them the expense of iron used there, it seems to the committee proper so to do. We are expending a great deal of money that does not bring back money again to the public treasury, or increase the wealth of the country; and if we can legitimately legislate so as to increase the wealth of the country, and the prosperity of these Western Territories, it seemed to the committee well to do so.

What the committee therefore propose to do is : Not to give to this company any lands whatever ; not to give them an acre of land, but to allow them in advance of the survey which we will not make, or do not make at all events, to take up the quantity of land named in this bill ; with the same privileges and subject to all the liabilities of pre-emptor, save and except so far as they may use the timber on the land for building and running their iron works. We require them to make

the surveys at their own expense. We require them before they shall receive a title to their land to satisfy the Secretary of the Interior, that they have built on these lands iron works capable of turning out fifteen hundred tons of iron per annum. If they fail in any one of these conditions, they forfeit their entire right and are compelled to pay for the land the price of \$1.25 per acre. The whole departure from the ordinary policy of the government is in allowing this company to take up more land than it can take up under the existing law. One hundred and sixty acres of land would not justify an iron company in establishing iron works. They must have timber for coaling. They cannot get it under the existing law. If they go upon the unsurveyed lands without a law of this kind, they are trespassers and are liable to be sued and mulcted in damages for every offence. Without the timber they cannot do the work. The question then is shall they, or shall they not be allowed to take up this land upon paying into the public treasury the ordinary price of the public land, and establishing works there before they can receive title to their land? It struck the committee that it was necessary for the development of that Territory, and it would tend to do what they thought was required to be done at this time, especially when we have such heavy drains upon our people in the way of taxation, to increase the productive wealth of the country, to some extent without at all injuring the public.

On the fifth day after his death, funeral ceremonies in honor of Abraham Lincoln were held in Iowa City of the following character :

PROCESSION.

Hearse drawn by four horses draped with the emblems of mourning, one flag to each horse, and one flag to each corner of hearse, also draped. Each horse led by a colored groom draped in black.

FORMATION OF PROCESSION.

1. Hearse with grooms and pall bearers.
2. Martial music.
3. Returned soldiers commanded by Capt. Geo. W. Clark.
4. Military companies commanded by Capt. J. H. Branch.
5. Odd Fellows.
6. Good Templars.
7. Band of music.
8. Ladies Aid Society.
9. Hibernian Society.
10. Bohemian Society.
11. Fire Department.
12. Masonic Societies.
13. City, County, and Township Officers led by the Mayor,

14. President, Faculty and Students of University.

15. All the schools, Public and Private.

16. Citizens of City and County.

17. African Association.

After marching through the designated streets, the procession, over a mile long, assembled on the University Campus to participate in the following :

Proceedings from the balcony in front of the university.

Prayer.

Funeral hymn.

Oration.

Funeral hymn.

Benediction.

Tolling of bells from 6 to 7 a. m., 9 to 11 a. m., from 12 m. to 6 p. m.

Firing of Minute guns from 6 a. m. to 6 p. m., at intervals of ten minutes.

THE FUNERAL ORATION DELIVERED BY EX-GOVERNOR SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD, AT IOWA CITY, APRIL 19, 1865.

We have met to mourn the untimely death of the Chief Magistrate and the chief man of the nation—of the magistrate pre-eminent for purity of purpose, devotion to the public good, clearness of judgment and firmness of will—of the man pre-eminent for unselfishness, kindness of heart and love for his fellow-men. We mourn him not only as the good Magistrate and the good man, but as the good friend, for there was not in all our broad land a man so humble that he was not his friend, unless that man was the enemy of his country, and our grief is deepened by the reflection that this great loss falls upon us through one of the foulest crimes which the infamous rebellion that has desolated our land has yet developed.

Abraham Lincoln was born in the State of Kentucky in February, 1809. His ancestors, who are said to have been Quakers, removed from Pennsylvania to Virginia, whence his grandfather removed to Kentucky. In 1816 his father, with his family, removed to Indiana, and thence, in 1830, to Illinois, at which time the subject of this sketch was about twenty-one years of age. He thus grew up on the frontier, almost wholly deprived of the benefit of schools, and engaged in the toils and privations of a frontier life. Upon reaching manhood he engaged in various avocations—was a flat boatman, a clerk in a store, himself a storekeeper and a surveyor, and served for three months as captain of a company of volunteers in the Black Hawk war. In 1837 he engaged in the practice of the law, and in a few years attained a position in the front rank of the profession in his State. He served several terms as a member of the Legislature and for a single term as a member of Congress.

The attention of the nation was first directed to him in 1858 by the contest between him and the late Senator Douglas, in which he gained a reputation for precision and depth of thought, clearness of language, fairness of statement, truthfulness, manliness and courtesy, which he has ever retained. He was elected to the Presidency in 1860, since which time, by reason of the unhappy condition of our country, his name has been on the lips of all men and he has been the observed of all observers.

When the terrible storm of war, which yet desolates our land, first burst upon us, the thoughts of all our people at once centered on him. Those who brought the war upon us and who sought the destruction of our nationality, trained as they had been by teachings and surroundings to ignore and despise men of humble birth and training, laughed him to scorn, as one wholly unfit to cope with veteran statesmen—men educated and, as they fondly believed, born to command. Their sympathizers, at home and abroad, joined in the howl of derision thus raised at his alleged total unfitness for the duties of his high station. Of those who supported him for that position and placed him in it, but few knew him personally, and while none doubted his capacity to conduct the affairs of the nation under ordinary circumstances wisely and well, many good men feared that his inexperience in public affairs would unfit him for a leader in the fierce, wild whirl of passion through which it was found the nation must pass. It is, I think, but truthful to say that had the men who selected him for the Presidency known before hand of the peril which universally threatened us, they would have chosen some tried statesman for the place.

We all have reason to-day to thank God that *that* knowledge was withheld from us. Every fiery trial through which he was called upon to pass but proved more clearly his peculiar fitness for his most difficult position, until, to-day, a belief, amounting to conviction, pervades the hearts of our people that he was the instrument chosen and set apart by God to lead us from our political bondage, through the fearful wilderness of civil war, not into, but within view of, our political Canaan, where life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness shall be the birthright of all our chosen people. It becomes us, therefore, to examine the character of this man—to mark his qualities, so that when in the future we need such men we may know the marks by which to find them.

What manner of man, then, was Abraham Lincoln? My knowledge of him is derived mainly, as yours is, from the current news of the day; but I had, to a limited degree, other and better means of knowing him. The official position which I held in our State at the time of, and for some years after, his first election, made it, in my judgment, proper that I should pay my respects to him before he left his home for Washington. I did so, and was favored with a somewhat

lengthy interview. This was in February, 1861, after several States had seceded, as the phrase goes, and when the whole land was in a ferment. Mr. Lincoln talked freely and frankly, and I listened with intense earnestness. Afterwards, at various times, I saw him in Washington upon official business, and at all times I observed him with all the closeness and care I was master of.

In my judgment, the leading characteristic of Mr. Lincoln as a public man was his entire and absorbing devotion to the public welfare. When determining his public policy and performing his public duties, considerations of personal and private interest were wholly subordinate to the public good. United with this was a clearness and depth of thought perhaps unsurpassed, an earnestness and directness of purpose that always went straight to its object, a thorough knowledge and understanding of our system of government, a marvelous, an almost intuitive knowledge of the habits and peculiarities of the mass of our people with whom he was so thoroughly identified, a frank, genial nature, and heart so kindly in all its impulses that I do not believe he ever knew what it was to hate any man. Such was Abraham Lincoln: unselfish, vigorous-minded, earnest, direct, well versed in men and affairs, genial, kindly, tender and true.

He was wholly absorbed in the task of putting down the rebellion and restoring peace and unity to our people; and here he was much misunderstood by some and greatly misrepresented by many. It has been urged that he might have prevented the war by compromise, that he might have ended it after it began by compromise. It seems to me that those who thus argue, wholly misapprehend his position and surroundings. He was the Chief Magistrate of our nation, the one man of all our people whose sworn duty it was to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution." Now, treason, in all lands and under all governments, is the highest crime known to the law. It includes all other crimes, and *peculiarly* criminal in a government like ours, where the people are the source of all power, and have the knowledge and the will to correct all wrongs which, at times, they may be led to commit. What basis is there for a compromise between the magistrate and the criminal, especially while the criminal stands out in open and bold defiance of the law? What basis is there for compromise between him who is sworn to "preserve; protect and defend" the Constitution and him who, with his arms in his hands, uses all his powers to destroy that Constitution? There is none; there *can* be none. There is no middle ground. One or the other must submit. If the officer yields to the criminal a portion of the fruits of his crime, on condition that he will restore the remainder, the law is dishonored, and, instead of protecting against, offers a premium to crime. If the defender of the Constitution yields a portion of it to him who seeks its destruction,

the remainder is preserved only until some other may be found who is bold enough and bad enough to demand it.

I repeat it, there cannot, in the nature of things, be a compromise between the laws and criminals against the laws. If the laws triumph, all is well; if the criminal triumphs, all is lost. The failure to recognize this truth, in my judgment, has led to much of misapprehension and misrepresentation of Mr. Lincoln's character. I have said he was wholly absorbed in the tasks of putting down the rebellion and restoring peace and unity to our people. To effect this object he was willing to yield much, provided that in yielding he did not give up that which rendered worthless what he kept. He hated slavery as much as his kind heart permitted him to hate anything. He was too clear sighted not to see that when the slaveholders inaugurated the rebellion they placed in his hands the power to destroy slavery. But he knew that his sentiments and the sentiments of those who had placed him in power, on this question of slavery, had been grossly misrepresented and were wholly misunderstood by the people in the Rebel States, and he believed that by convincing them of this error he might win them back to their duty and to submission to the laws. Hence, I think, his delay in striking directly at slavery as the vital part of the rebellion, and his adoption, for a time, of the so-called border State policy. He pursued that policy with the earnestness of his nature, against the advice and remonstrance of his political friends, until he became satisfied he could not find the object he sought in that direction; and when so satisfied he took the other course with the same earnestness, directness and firmness. He sought, at all times, to restore the unity of the people and the supremacy of the laws with the least possible shock to the interest, the feelings, even the prejudice, of those who were seeking their destruction, but with an unwavering determination that they *should* be restored at whatever cost.

And now, when his great work was almost done; when the great body of the people who had been led into rebellion had seen the folly and wickedness of their crime and were willing to lay down their arms; when the political leaders were but seeking to prolong the struggle that they might insure their own safety; when the hearts of all men in the land were praising God for his goodness, and pouring forth their thanks to the President and his advisers, and to our brave army for their self-sacrifice and devotion; when our tears for all we had lost were dried by the sunshine of gladness for all we had won; when every heart sang for joy, one man, animated by the devilish spirit of treachery and violence that brought upon us this wicked war, has dashed the cup of joy from our lips and left us a nation of mourners. At the very time when the heart of the President was filled with kindness towards those who had sought our ruin; when, as is believed, he was devising liberal and generous plans by which they might again

arise and enjoy the high privileges they had so wantonly thrown away, the fell spirit which generated the rebellion sought and found opportunity for its crowning act of infamy by his deliberate, cold-blooded and cowardly assassination. I need not attempt to depict the particulars of this foul deed. Any language I could command would but tend to relieve it of the lineaments of its fiendish barbarity. It is enough to say that we know it was intended to embrace, not only the death of President Lincoln, but that of his chief adviser, Mr. Seward, and, as we have reason to believe, the death of the Vice President and all the members of the Cabinet.

The crime is so foul and brutal in itself, so shocking to all the better feelings of our nature, that our great sorrow for our and our country's loss is measurably swallowed up in hot and righteous indignation against the spirit that provoked its commission. The vile wretch who was the instrument in committing the deed is beneath our indignation. If caught as I trust he will be, it will be fitting he should die, as it is fitting any other venomous reptile should die, because it is unsafe to let him live. But it is right and proper that our indignation should be active and untiring against the *spirit* that prompted him to this deed, until that spirit is utterly crushed out from among our people. That is the spirit engendered by slavery—the spirit of violence and treachery, that has brought this war upon us with all its woe. The system of slavery is founded upon wrong and oppression. It teaches men that it is right that others should be slaves that they may be free, that others shall sow that they may reap; that others shall labor that they may use the fruits of their labor; that others shall suffer that they may enjoy. It begets in the dominant race pride and arrogance, a haughty and boastful spirit that will not brook restraint or control, and that hesitates at no means to accomplish its ends—a disregard for the rights of others—cruelty, injustice and revenge. If we trace the development of that spirit in bringing about and carrying on this rebellion we may learn its true character. Before the actual outbreak we will find many, the principal agents in bringing about the rebellion, occupying high places under our government, all sworn and paid servants of that government, bound in honor and good faith to give to it their best service. With these oaths for true service yet warm upon their lips, and their pay for true service yet in their palms, they are found plotting and scheming how they may best destroy that government, and using the power placed in their hands as its sworn and paid servants, the better to accomplish its overthrow. We will find other men, educated by the government and at the expense of the government to be its especial and ever ready defenders at sea and on the land, at home and abroad, pledged in all honor to that duty while yet wearing its uniform and drawing its pay, plotting how they may best betray it, and when the hour of trial comes, basely

deserting their flag and turning against it the knowledge acquired for its protection. Always prating of their honor, we find that in their estimation theft and fraud, falsehood and perjury, the desertion of his flag by the soldier and the surrender of his ship by the sailor, without a blow in its defense, and the basest treason by the statesman, are all honored and alike honorable. We will find that these men have sought to lay our chief city in ashes, to throw from our railroad, cars filled with women and children, and to plunder our quiet villages, not by overcoming our armies with their armies, on the battle-field, but by means of lurking emissaries and secret spies. They have broken faith even with their own soldiers, keeping them in the ranks long after their terms of service had confessedly expired. They have purposely and systematically starved and ill-treated our soldiers, in their hands as prisoners of war, so that thousands have died and other thousands have been returned to us to die or to remain among us the mere wrecks of men. The spirit that animated these men in these acts is identically the same that animated the assassin of President Lincoln. You cannot find any fair distinction between them. They come from the same foul source and tend to the same base end. Now, why and how is this? These men are not naturally worse than we. Whence then this terrible demoralization? It is, as I have told you, from their having been reared among the wrongs, the cruelties and the vices of slavery. They have imbibed its spirit, and these acts are but the fruits of that spirit. God forbid that I should stand here to encourage a spirit of revenge. "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." But I do stand here to say that we will be untrue to ourselves, to God and humanity, if we do not see to it that the foul mother of this hateful spirit—the harlot slavery—shall cease to exist in our land, henceforth and forever. When that shameless system shall have passed away we may reasonably hope that the spirit engendered by it will also pass away, and not until then. It may be that we needed this terrible lesson to keep us true to our duty. We all know the immense power he wielded over the hearts of his people. We all know that he was preparing, at the time of his death, measures most liberal and generous for the restoration of the rebel States. We all know how our own hearts softened under the influence of the prospect of speedy peace; and it may be, I say, that we needed this terrible affliction that has fallen upon us to convince us of the truth, that there is no permanent peace for this land so long as slavery remains within it. If this be so, I think the object has been fully accomplished. It is not reasonable to suppose that Mr. Johnson can feel as kindly to the rebel chiefs as Mr. Lincoln did. He and his family were, for a time, exiled by them from their homes. If I mistake not a price was set upon his head. He has seen his beautiful State converted, through their means into a desolation. Besides this,

even if he has the will he has not the power to control the loyal people that President Lincoln had. He is to them yet measurably an untried man, and although they will rally around him, and support him loyally and truly, they will not be disposed to yield to his lead as promptly and cheerfully as to that of his lamented predecessor. Add to these the other fact, that the foul deed we mourn here to-day has deeply exasperated our people, and it is very evident to me that, in closing up this rebellion, we will see to it that the cause of this rebellion shall be utterly removed, and that justice, not mercy, but let us hope, justice, tempered with mercy, will be our rule of action.

And now I have nearly done. There are other topics upon which I would have spoken, but the time allowed me for preparation has been too short, and I cannot trust myself to speak upon them without preparation, lest my excited feelings should impel me to say words unfit to be said, here and now.

In the shock of battle the soldier sees his gallant and well-loved leader stricken down by his side. He has no time to weep, but grasping his weapon with firmer grasp, he pushes onward, with a firmer step, over the prostrate body to victory. So should we do. Since this calamity has fallen upon us we have been stunned, paralyzed by its greatness. But the battle is not yet fully won. Complete victory has not yet crowned our efforts, and we must not permit our sorrow for our great loss to cause us to falter in our great endeavor. Let, then, every man arouse. Let the word "onward" ring through the whole length of our mighty host, and let us, over the bleeding body of him we loved so well, press on to that crowning victory to which we had so fondly hoped *he* would lead us. Many of you loved Abraham Lincoln as you would have loved a brother, although you had never looked upon his face, and I trust that there is not among you one from whom his patience, his courage, his kindness, his purity, his patriotism and his truth had not won the meed of respect, if not of esteem. He had been building for himself a monument that will endure as long as those qualities are honored among men. But he did not live to finish the work. The column has been broken before the temple was completed. That monument was a restored, a regenerated Union. The work is almost done. Let it be our pious care to complete it. When that shall have been done, when again our starry flag shall float, more proudly and lovingly, over every acre of our broad domain and no man can find within its shadow a *slave*, his fitting monument will have been completed. When the strife and bitterness of the day shall have passed away with those who participated in that strife and felt that bitterness, when the impartial historian shall have written the history of this fearful struggle, our children's children will learn to love the name and the memory of Lincoln as we have learned to love the name of Washington; and those two names, brilliant and

glorious beyond all others, because the names of men, not only great, but good, will forever alike be "first in the hearts of their countrymen."

In the late "forties" and early "fifties," the question of the construction of railroads in our State began for the first time to be discussed, and as the early settlers were not in a condition to furnish funds for their construction, they cast about for means to be obtained for that purpose. The great Northwest was then but partially settled, and the United States Government had a wealth of public lands lying idle and awaiting settlement and improvement. Already had a grant of these lands been made, through the efforts of Stephen A. Douglass, a member of Congress from the State of Illinois, to assist in the building of a railroad that should extend from New Orleans *via* Cairo to Chicago, with a branch to Galena. This was used as a precedent for a like grant for several roads across the State of Iowa, and the grants were made by Congress to the State, and by the State accepted for that purpose and parceled out to various railroad companies, and by these companies accepted upon the conditions that they should construct certain lines of railroad across the State from east to west.

The men composing these companies being Eastern capitalists claimed that they could not build these roads without local aid, and as that aid could not be furnished by the people, individually, along the proposed lines of railroad, these men suggested and urged that the different public corporations through which the roads should run could issue bonds payable at a remote date when the corporations issuing them would become populous and wealthy and able to pay them. These bonds were to be issued to the companies in payment dollar for dollar of stock of those companies subscribed for and issued to the corporations being counties and cities.

Bonds were issued by the counties of Washington, Johnson, Jefferson, Muscatine, Lee, Poweshiek, Louisa, Iowa,

Des Moines and several others and the cities contained in them to the amount of several millions of dollars. It was represented by these railroad companies that the dividends on the stock would pay the interest on the bonds; that when the bonds became due the stock could be sold for enough to redeem the bonds, and thus the ‘honest grangers’ could get a railroad at a small cost, or no cost at all. The theory looked plausible; the needs for railroads were great; something was wanted to carry to market the crops of our broad, fertile acres other than teams, often mired down in our unbridged rivers, creeks and sloughs, and bonds were voted by large majorities and issued, in some cases, for roads that were never built, though it was claimed by good lawyers that there was no authority in law to vote or issue them.

Soon dividends on stock failed to pay the interest on bonds, and heavy taxes were levied and collected to pay that interest. Soon again the taxes not only failed to be paid, but failed to be levied.

By a reorganization of the railroad companies, other railroad companies were formed that swallowed up the old ones, so that the old stock became badly shrunken or totally valueless, while the bonds issued maintained their original full rotundity. Suits were brought in our State courts to collect unpaid interest, when by the decision of those courts the bonds were declared invalid. On appeal to the United States courts that decision was reversed.

In view of this state of affairs, delegates from the ten counties above named met at Muscatine December 15, 1869, at which meeting the following, among other proceedings, were had:

The Committee on Resolutions, through Ex-Governor Kirkwood, reported the following:

WHEREAS, The recent decisions of the Federal courts involving corporation railroad bonds in this State seem to us subversive of the authority and dignity of our State courts, and dangerous to the rights and privileges of citizens of the States, if not positive and unwar-

ranted encroachments upon the jurisdiction of the State courts. Therefore,

Resolved, That we respectfully and earnestly protest against the exercise of such authority by the Federal courts, and hereby pledge our sympathy and support to the State courts in the maintenance of their rightful authority.

Resolved, That this Convention earnestly call upon the General Assembly of Iowa to take notice of the late decision of the Federal Supreme Court, and apply to Congress and the other States to take the necessary steps to protect our citizens against similar encroachments on their rights.

Resolved, That this Convention regards the provision enacted by the Twelfth General Assembly, commonly known as the Doud amendment, as the reservation of the rights of the State to control certain railroad companies, in regard to their charges for freight and passengers, as a most precious and valuable right, and ought to be preserved unimpaired and unrepealed.

Resolved, That the property of railroad corporations in this State should be taxed, as our Constitution provides, the same as other property, and the General Assembly is earnestly requested to provide for such equal taxation.

Resolved, That this Convention recommends to the citizens of the several counties and cities interested in this railroad bond question to pay all their taxes except their railroad bond tax; to refuse to pay that until all legal and practical remedies are exhausted.

Resolved, That a committee of one from each county be appointed, whose duty it shall be to maintain a correspondence between the several counties with a view to harmony and unity of action, and that we recommend to the counties here represented not to pay or compromise said indebtedness, nor any part of the same, without general consultation; and that we further recommend that each county keep at Des Moines, during the coming session, one or more competent agents to furnish information to the General Assembly and to attend to the interest of their respective counties on this question.

Mr. Negus, of Jefferson, explained that section of the law which had been construed to authorize municipalities to aid railroads. He was a member of the legislature which enacted it, and said that no such authority was conveyed or intended to be conveyed.

Ex-Governor Kirkwood said: "All will admit that we have a right to make our State Constitution and laws just as we please, provided we do not trench upon the Constitution of

the United States. What value is this right if our court cannot interpret the meaning of our Constitution and laws?"

It was claimed by Governor Kirkwood that under Section 1 of Article 4 of the Constitution of the United States, which says: "Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other State" every person, municipality, corporation, officer or court that could be bound by any decision of any court, was bound by and should respect the decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Iowa, which had declared these railroad bonds void.

The gubernatorial canvass in 1875, previous to holding the Republican State Convention on the 19th of June, was a peculiar one. No one of the four or five prominent candidates for Governor went into the convention with any reasonable assurance that he had strength enough to nominate him on the first few ballots. Their comparative strength was undoubtedly in the order named: James B. Weaver, John Russel, John H. Gear, Robert Smyth, W. B. Fairfield, each with his host of friends assisting, striving to get all the strength possible enlisted in his favor on the first ballot. The editor of the *Register* said in his paper: "The convention was all at sea on the choice for governor, no man had worked for it, and no wires had been pulled to secure it."

The names of Weaver, Russel, Gear and Fairfield were presented, with a prospect that ballot after ballot, excitedly repeated, and long continued, engendering bitter feeling and personal animosities would have to be taken to reach a final result, when Dr. S. M. Ballard a delegate from Andubon County, an old patriarch in the Republican ranks with a head as white as the driven snow, his breast covered with a full flowing beard of the same hue, arose and standing six feet four inches tall, strait as an arrow, with a stentorian voice, like the blows of a trip hammer that reached every ear in the large assembly, said: "Mr. President, I desire to

present the name of Samuel J. Kirkwood of Johnson County." (Immense applause.)

Gen. Trumbull of Dubuque, inquired by what authority the name of Gov. Kirkwood was presented.

Raising himself to his full height, throwing back his venerable snow colored head, extending his long right arm, with the full intonations of his powerful sonorous voice the Dr. replied, "BY AUTHORITY OF THE GREAT REPUBLICAN PARTY OF IOWA." (Tremendous cheers oft repeated.)

Hon. John Russel arose amid the tumult of applause and said: "He would not be a candidate in opposition to the great War Governor, whom he was proud to esteem so highly, that he preferred him for governor to any and all other men, I withdraw my name and second the nomination of the gentleman from Andubon." His remarks were cheered to the echo.

Mr. Gear arose amid the cheering, and in the most earnest and enthusiastic manner, said: "Neither will I be a candidate against the great popular favorite, Governor Kirkwood, who sent seventy-five thousand boys in blue cheering to the front to help so potentially in subduing the rebellion, and I most heartily second the nomination of the Old War Governor and withdraw my name in his favor."

The brief speech of Mr. Gear was delivered with fire and dash, and it had an electrifying effect on the convention and he was cheered and re-cheered to the echo.

Senator Campbell wanted to know if the friends of the governor in the convention did not have a dispatch from him saying he was not a candidate. He was answered by cries from various parts of the house, "we don't care if they have—that don't make any difference."

An informal ballot was taken resulting, Kirkwood, 238; Weaver, 200; Smyth, 111; Fairfield, 33.

A formal ballot was then fully taken. Before the tellers had counted up the ballots, counties that had voted for other

candidates began to change their votes to Kirkwood, and before the count was completed, Capt. Hull, a delegate from Davis, and one of Weaver's friends moved to make the vote unanimous, which was received and carried with thundering applause.

A motion was made to telegraph Gov. Kirkwood for his acceptance, which was met by showers of "no, no" from all parts of the house. John Y. Stone arose amid the storm and said, "Governor Kirkwood *must* accept," when the mover said he would withdraw his motion and second Mr. Stone's *must*.

Though in the common acceptation of the term, Gov. K. had never been an office seeker, he did desire to be returned to the United States Senate, and as he could not occupy that place and the governor's chair at the same time, he preferred not to hazard his chance for the former place, by becoming an occupant of the latter. Notwithstanding no formal notification was sent by the convention to the governor of his nomination, nor a request for an acceptance, several of the members of the convention went to the telegraph office, among whom were R. S. Finkbine, John Russel, S. S. Farwell and Ed. Wright and wired him, asking his consent to become a candidate. The governor was at home and Judge Wright was also in Iowa City, and he called upon the governor to press his acceptance, saying that instead of prejudicing his prospects for the senatorship, it would advance them. The question was for sometime discussed between them pro. and con., when at the other end of the line all but Gen. Wright, getting tired waiting for a reply, left the telegraph office. It was reported that Gen. Wright in his impatience and anxiety while waiting made the telegraph do some swearing for him, but he was too well raised to do that, but he did make the wires say, "why in *thunder* don't you answer." Finally the reply came, "if I must answer—yes."

If things had not been WRIGHT at both ends of the line, it is quite probable a "no" instead of a "yes" would have been sent.

As a reason for his acceptance it was urged upon the governor that the Republicans of Iowa had done much for him, and that this was a spontaneous call from them from all parts of the State, and he should heed it. He might have replied with a great deal of truth, that while they had done much for him, he in return had done a great deal for them, that he had often sacrificed his own private interests, his ease and his comfort for their good. He was never a man to press his claims to official station on what he had done—for his labors were performed in the honest and faithful discharge of official duty for the benefit of the public, rather than for his own private advantage.

As soon as the nomination was made all the guns of the enemy from the diminutive political revolver, carried by the ward bumper in his hip pocket, to the heavy siege guns under control of the State Central Committee were turned upon him.

In a speech made in Des Moines, on the 27th day of August, he spiked most of these guns, and before election they were all silenced. From this speech a few extracts are made.

He said in commencing, he would first pay brief attention to some of the charges made against him by the Democratic press :

"My old friend Claggett of Keokuk said, I had 'speculated in tax titles.' I never owned or bought a tax title in my life. Another editor says, I am a large owner of railroad stock. I once had \$300 of stock in an unbuilt railroad, which I afterwards sold for \$5. I also bought a dollar of stock in a new railroad once, in order to qualify myself for president, and I own that yet. It has also been charged that I own stock in a distillery. I do not own, never have owned, and never intend to own any such stock. It has been charged also, that I once said, 'we must give the Dutch their slops in order to keep their votes.' I never said and never thought of saying this, or anything

like it, I resent, as the pure and able German citizen Nicholas J. Rusch, who was lieutenant governor when I was governor, signed the bill allowing the sale of beer and wine, would have resented this insinuation, that the German citizens would have sold their votes for lager beer. The Democrats charge this now on the supposition, if they believe it at all, that if we bought these people with free lager in those days, they can buy them with free whiskey now. No! The German people were voting with us on principle. They hated slavery as we did, opposed secession as we did, and as they do now. They were as honest as we were, and as determined in being right.

"It has also been urged that during the war I once called the Germans, Hessians and other vile epithets, which charge is as false as the first. I claim to have a little common sense, even if I have not common honesty. I was engaged in raising troops for the war, and no citizens were enlisting more spontaneously than our fellow citizens of foreign birth. I never spoke of this class of our immortal soldiers other than in terms of admiration and praise, and I defy any proof on earth that I ever did." * * *

The charge that he speculated in army clothing was taken up and exploded. The governor said, he had received among other inquiries one asking how he stood in regard to secret societies.

He stated that he himself was a member of the Masonic Craft, and the Odd Fellows Order, many members of which will oppose me politically, as bitterly as any others, and this no one will think of making an issue in the canvass or at the polls.

The governor said there was another little matter he might refer to :

"Some of my friends who are editing Democratic papers, are afraid that if I get to be governor I may want to be a senator. They and some others are very anxious that we should have a good looking man to send as our governor to the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia next year, and they are afraid my friend Mr. Newbold, our candidate for Lieutenant Governor would not make as good looking a governor at the national festival as I would. (Great laughter.)

"Now, I could not go to the Senate or leave the governorship if I wanted to before March, 1877, the year after the Centennial, so that the people of Iowa would still have the benefit of all the beauty that I have at the Centennial. (Repeated laughter.)

"There are five men in Iowa, that are noted for all the good looks that they have. There are two of them in one county, Senator Lowrey

and Judge Grant of Scott, (laughter). Then there's Judge Loughridge. (More laughter.) Next, but not least by any means is Gov. Eastman. (Further laughter.) The last is myself. (Still greater laughter.) Now, I am willing the ladies of Iowa shall select the best looking man in this lot for the representative of this State, and its manly beauty at the Centennial, and I will abide by their choice. But, about my wanting or not wanting to go to the Senate, I shall make no promises. If I did it might be as it was with the governorship. I said I did not want and would not take that; but, I am the Republican Party's candidate for it, and I do not intend to say any more what office I will take and what I will not. (Cheers.) * * *

"To the temperance man we say the Republican party is the only one that gives well grounded hope for the accomplishment of all objects that tend to promote the improvement of our fellow men. We may falter, we may stumble, we may halt, we may swerve to the one side or the other; we may even go backward, but earnestly striving, desiring and seeking for the good of all, we will ever go onward in the right path at last. Your place is with us, you are no doubt as honest as you are earnest, and I for one believe that you are. It is right too, to be progressive, radical and advanced. But have a care that you do not get so far ahead of public opinion that you will get out of sight of the great body of the people altogether and be lost. [Applause.] So far indeed that you cannot be heard."

At Dubuque on the 24th day of September, the following speech was delivered:

Friends and Fellow Citizens:—Your chairman in introducing me to you has mentioned the fact that some years ago I had the honor of serving you in the capacity of governor of the State, an office for which I am again a candidate. I have very little to say in regard to that past time, except this; that it was a very trying, troublesome time both in our state and in our national affairs. The labors devolving upon me were severe, and the duties more difficult and delicate than in time of peace. But I endeavored to perform those duties the best I knew how; how well I succeeded it is not for me, but for you to say. Should it be the pleasure of the people of the state to again elevate me to the same office, the duties will be much more easily performed, and I can only say that I will endeavor to do the best I can. I may have made mistakes before; I may make mistakes again. If any of you had occupied the position I did, you would probably have made mistakes as I did; and if any of you were to occupy the position in future, you would undoubtedly make mistakes as I will.

THE LIQUOR QUESTION.

There is one subject which is perhaps not quite a proper one for me to discuss; yet one that I feel called upon to discuss in many localities and among others in this locality, that is what is called the temperance question. It is claimed by some, I learn, that I have not been frank and open upon this question. This is a mistake, I have never for a moment concealed my opinion in regard to this subject, and I have never expressed different opinions at different points. When I opened this campaign in Des Moines sometime in August last, I expressed my opinion on the temperance question and what I said was published in the papers of that city, and afterwards republished in other papers of the state, so that any one desiring to know my opinions on the subject might know them. The only embarrassment I ever felt in connection with expressing my opinions on the subject arose from this circumstance: The convention that nominated me did not express any opinion upon the question. The Republican party is not agreed among themselves on this point. The party contains many men who are opposed to licensing the sale of intoxicating drinks and are in favor of a prohibitory liquor law, it contains men who are opposed to a prohibitory law and in favor of license; and it also contains many men who occupy the position that I do, a position different from either of the foregoing. Such being the case it would not have been honest in the Republican party to have expressed an opinion upon the subject in their platform, because it is a question upon which the party are not agreed and the representatives of a party making a platform lay down principles upon which that party *are* agreed. But I have my personal opinions, and I will give them to you. But I give them to you as my own and not those of the Republican party, for I have no right to speak for the Republican party in a case where that party has not spoken for itself.

Since the commencement of this campaign I have traveled along the southern part of this state to Council Bluffs; thence along the western border of the state to Sioux City, thence through the northern part of the state to this point. In many places I have found the situation of affairs to be the same as in your locality. That is the prohibitory law which is to be found on the statute book of Iowa is of no effect. It is not evaded as other criminal laws are by stealth secretly, it is openly, boldly, notoriously trodden underfoot. Public sentiment does not sustain it, that is the condition of affairs in the county (Johnson) where I live. But while this is true, it is just as true that in many other counties of the State the law is fully and fairly enforced; as well enforced as any other penal laws of your State. And the people in those counties are strongly attached to the prohibitory law, because it shields them from evils to which they have been subjected. The social habits and manners and customs of people of different

localities and nationalities are as different as are the colors of white and black. Living as I do in a community in which the prohibitory law is not enforced, I find the result of the existence of that law coupled with its non-enforcement to be this; the daily violation of that law without rebuke and without punishment, becomes familiar to a man and to the community, it creates a want of respect for law in general, and a habit of disobedience to law in general. You and I, my friends, depend for the security and protection of our property and our lives upon the law. When the laws are revered and obeyed life and property are safe. When it is daily and openly violated, and no rebuke or punishment administered to those by whom it is violated, reverence for the laws is inevitably diminished, and the habit of disobedience created. One man's taste or inclination leads him to the violation of the prohibitory liquor law, he goes unpunished and unrebuked; on the contrary public sentiment in his locality sustains him. Another man's taste or inclination leads him to violate some other law; and when he is brought to punishment, the question he asks is, "Why am I for violating the law rebuked and punished, while my neighbor, for violating another law goes unrebuked and unpunished." This is a partiality and an injustice here all must see, and which inevitably leads him to a disrespect and disobedience of all law. And in this condition of affairs, which you all know is the condition in this State, the question arises, which is the best course to pursue. What policy will result in the greatest good to the greatest number? What legislation is best adapted to the wants, tastes, feelings, prejudices, if you will, of the different communities in the State? This is an entirely proper question to ask, and we must find as satisfactory an answer as we can.

LOCAL OPTION.

In my judgment, what is called the "local option law" is the best solution of this question, most just to each and all communities, and productive of the best general results. You of Dubuque county, where the prohibitory law is not enforced and where there is no pretense or attempt to enforce it, would be just as well off in every respect, and much better satisfied if the traffic in intoxicating drinks was more lawful with proper restrictions imposed. In other counties where the prohibitory law can be and is enforced, and where the people desire its continuance and enforcement, it is but fair and right that they should have it. In the strongest prohibitory counties through which I have passed, I have asked of the advocates of that law, "while the citizens of your county are protected and their interests subserved by the prohibitory law, why insist it shall apply nominally to the county of Dubuque, where it commands no respect, no obedience from the people, and where its only effect is to demoralize the public mind by familiarizing the community with the contin-

ual disobedience of law, whereby the reverence of all law is weakened?" And I have never been able to get what seemed to me to be a satisfactory answer. And now I ask you citizens of Dubuque the same question. If you had a law upon this subject that suited your sentiments, your tastes, your prejudices, (as some might say) why should you insist that your opinions of what is right should be forced upon the people of other counties of the State. My own personal opinion is that the best thing for our mixed varied population is the "local option" system. Then where the people prefer a license law, a license law can be had; and where the people desire a prohibitory law, they can have it and enforce it. This is the ground I have occupied before the people of this entire State. I have made no change or variation or shadow of turning in one part of the State from what I have said in another part. But let me repeat, that in this expression of my sentiments on this subject, I speak for myself alone, I am not authorized to speak for the Republican party, for that party has not spoken for itself; nor am I authorized to speak for my associates on the ticket; they can speak for themselves if they choose, or if they are called upon to do so. But you have a right to know *my* opinions, and you have them. If they do not suit you, if they excite your displeasure, I only ask that you will visit your displeasure upon me, and upon none else.

THE BACK PAY MATTER.

There is another matter somewhat personal in its nature to which I ought perhaps to pay some attention. It has been charged that during the two sessions of Congress, that I had the honor of serving you, my action in regard to the matter of compensation—pay—was improper. The circumstances of the case are these: Sometime in May, 1865, Mr. Harlan, then Senator for your State resigned from that position. This caused a vacancy in that office. When the Iowa Legislature convened the next December, I was elected to fill that vacancy. I went to Washington and took my place early in January. Now there is a law upon the statute books of the United States, a law which I had no share in making, but which was made many years before I became Senator—by which, when any Senator resigned, his successor is entitled to draw pay from the date of his predecessor's resignation. In accordance with this law, which I found upon the statute books when I was elected, I did as had been the uniform custom before and has been the uniform custom since. I drew my pay from Mr. Harlan's resignation. But this, some say is very wrong. Now, first, let us look at the equity of the law. I served through two sessions of Congress entirely except about four weeks—the session commencing in December, and I taking my seat in January. If my pay had commenced in January, when I took my seat, I would have had to serve two sessions in Congress (save those four weeks), and

draw but one year's pay, while all my associates serving but four weeks longer than I, would have had two years' pay. But look at this matter in another light. Your Members of Congress here in Iowa, were elected last year, but their pay dates from March this year, 1875. California, elected members of Congress on the first day of this month (September, 1875), but they draw pay from last March, the same as your members elected last fall. Oregon has not yet elected her members of Congress, but when elected they will draw pay from the fourth of last March, the same as those of California, and those of Iowa. The same with those of Mississippi, which, are yet to be elected. I took the pay which the law of the land had provided for me. And here allow me to say that in my judgment the men whom you have to fear are not those who take the pay the law gives them, and are contented with it, but those who attempt to make outside the compensation the law allows them, illegitimate gains.

VOTE FOR INCREASED COMPENSATION.

During that same session of Congress the compensation of members was increased. I voted for that increase. That compensation was fixed at three thousand dollars per year, a number of years before—in fact sometime before the war, when gold was the standard of value. In 1866, when I took my seat in the Senate, the cost of living in Washington City as here in Dubuque and everywhere else in the country, was at least double what it was when the war began. The consequence was that a member of Congress could not more than pay his necessary expenses, living in moderate style, out of the compensation allowed him at the rate fixed before the war. Perhaps it is imprudent for me to say it, but I am in the habit of saying what I think, and so I will say that in my opinion it is just as shabby for the people of Iowa to desire her Senators and Representatives to serve them for less than a fair compensation, as it is for a public servant to desire more than a fair compensation. And, I say further, that the men who are serving you in Congress, and are doing the best they know how, are entitled to something more than their actual living expenses. So we increased the pay of Members of Congress from \$3,000 to \$5,000 a year. But at the same time we reduced the mileage, from forty to twenty cents a mile. The result was not so much to increase the aggregate amount paid to Members of Congress, as to equalize the pay. Under the old law in the case of members of distant States, the mileage amounted to more than the compensation did. The net result was substantially this: Taking the aggregate received by all the Members of Congress for both salary and mileage, the increase was but very slight. Well, as I have said, I voted for the law and took the increased pay. If I believed to-day, that in so doing I did wrong, I should frankly say so, but I do not believe it was wrong, and

so no power on earth can make me say so. Our Democratic friends, who now declare that it was very wrong were a long time in discovering any wrong in it. Nine years have passed since then ; and it is only during the present campaign, since I was nominated for Governor, that they have discovered how wrong it was. Nobody found any fault with it at the time. You cannot find any complaint of it in the proceedings of any convention of either party. I will defy you to bring even a newspaper of either party or an extract from any speech by any member of either party, that made any complaint in reference to it at the time. In 1873, seven years afterward, when the price of living had all that time been continually and steadily going down, Congress passed a law increasing the pay of its members from \$5,000 to \$7,500. Then a very different condition of public sentiment was manifested ; then complaint was made by people, and by papers of both parties ; public indignation rose to a white heat. And in answer to the demands of the people, Congress reduced the compensation of its members to the point at which I aided in fixing it ; and the people of Iowa recognized the rightfulness of that action, and have since made no complaint. I have heard no complaint that the pay of Members of Congress is *now* too high ; yet it is to-day precisely what I aided in fixing it. Another thing looks to me a little inconsistent in this matter, and that is, that Democrats should blame me in this matter, and not blame anybody else among those who did just what I did. What statesman in this land was more lauded by the Democracy in 1873, than Charles Sumner ? It is true they had not always so high an appreciation of him, but when he felt it his duty to follow Horace Greely into the "Liberal" ranks, the Democratic party suddenly discovered that he was one of the ablest, as well as one of the purest of men that the country ever produced, and they were right. Yet Charles Sumner was a member of the Senate at the same time I was ; he voted precisely as I did in the matter of that compensation, and like me to use the classic language of the Democratic editors of this State, he "went out of Washington with the swag in his pocket." Then there was Lyman Trumbull, the distinguished Senator from Illinois, whose virtues and ability the Democrats never tire of praising ; he was in the Senate at the same time I was, he voted precisely as I did, and "went out of Washington with the swag in *his* pocket." And there was Mr. Hendricks of Indiana, now Governor of that State, and prospective candidate of the Democratic party for the Presidency of the United States, he was a member of the same Senate ; he voted on that question of compensation just as I did, and "went away from Washington with the swag in *his* pocket." For whom did you Democrats shout yourselves hoarse in 1873, as your candidate for the Vice-presidency ? You may have forgotten, so I will remind you that it was B. Gratz Brown of Missouri. He was a member of that same

Senate, he voted on the question of compensation precisely as I did, and he "went away from Washington with the swag in *his* pocket." And you Democrats did not discover any wrong in it then, and never did till I happened to become candidate for Governor of Iowa this year.

PERSONAL ABUSE.

But, right here my friends I feel moved to say one thing, and that is, that it is most humiliating that candidates for office, who claim to be gentlemen and honorable men in a canvass such as I am now engaged in, should be compelled to answer charges such as these; I mean compelled to answer charges either of petit or grand larceny. I do not think our politics are improved by such methods of conducting a campaign. I regard the making of such charges as a piece of demagoguery that will not help the party using it, or hurt the party against whom it is used.

NATIONAL POLITICS.

Having disposed of these unpleasant personal matters, I will now speak in regard to what I understand to be the present condition of the political affairs of this nation. We are fighting this year a battle that is but preliminary to a much severer one next year. Next year we have to elect a president, and I am satisfied that we are to have one of the bitterest and most fiercely contested campaigns since 1860. Every election in every State this year is looked upon as tending to show the drift of public opinion next year. What then is the political outlook for 1876? Let us first consider what was the political condition of the country before the civil war. Before its outbreak for many years the Democratic party had ruled in this country, and how had they managed, in order to rule this country? First the vote of all the slave States was solidly Democratic, there was no break in their ranks, the Democratic party held them in the hollow of its hand. It had only to count up those States, and the number of their representatives and calculate safely and surely upon so many Senators, so many members of the House of Representatives, so many Electoral votes for a Democratic president. The number that could thus be surely calculated upon for the Democratic party was not quite a majority in either case; but it came so near it, that a slight addition from the Northern States would place the control of the whole country in the hands of the Democratic party. And now since the reconstruction of those states has been accomplished, the managers of the Democratic party have been lending every effort persistently, determinedly, unremittingly to restore the same condition of affairs. They have so far succeeded that to-day there are but three of the old slave States that are not in their hands; Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina. Indeed they will have Mississippi this year, they are persuading the

black men down there into voting for them; or at least into not voting against them. They have a peculiar process of "persuading" the black men not to vote, and so I fear this year Mississippi will pass into the hands of the Democratic party. The political status of North Carolina is so uncertain that no one can tell how it will go. And the only Republican State in the south, remarkable as it may seem, is South Carolina. How strange that would have sounded fifteen years ago! The statesmen of the south are men of strong wills, determined purpose, and unyielding tenacity, they set their purpose and then work up to it, disregarding all minor issues. They are working now for the same object and seeking to accomplish it in precisely the same way as before the outbreak of the rebellion. Then all that is needed to place the Democratic party in power again, in such a condition of affairs as will give them a few votes from the Northern States, and the Democratic party will control the country and the Southern wing of the Democratic party will control that party. If you believe that a right and a good thing to do, do it, but do it like men; if you think it not a right and a good thing to do, don't do it at all, and don't indirectly aid in doing it.

But it may be asked why should not the Democratic party be restored to the control of this Government? I will give you my reasons. Passing by the question that divided the parties in old times, slavery; which thank God, is now taken out of our politics, there yet remains another vexed question that aided in bringing the civil war upon our country, and that is the question of

STATE RIGHTS

or State Sovereignty. The Democratic party insists that this is not a nation of people; but as many nations as there are States, that the States are separate nationalities, bound together by a band sometimes called a league, sometimes a confederacy; that any one of these States has a right to withdraw from the confederacy at its own pleasure, and that no power can compel a State to remain in the Union, if it desires to leave it. The northern Democracy did not entirely agree with this view of the matter; but they took the absurd and fatal ground that no State had a right to secede from the Union; but that if a State chose to secede without the right, there was no power under the constitution to compel them to remain. You will all remember how, from the time of the election of Lincoln to the fall of Fort Sumpter, the cry of "no coercion" rang through the land. That meant that it was wrong for a Southern State to secede; yet if they did secede our fathers had builded our government so unwisely that they had created a nation and breathed into it the breath of life, and yet had given it no power to protect that life. And the leaders of the Democratic party hold that doctrine as firmly now as they did then. You will find it in some guise or other in every Democratic platform throughout the length

and breadth of our land. But the Republican party says this is not a true interpretation of our Constitution. They say this is one country, one people, one nation; that we have but one flag—and God helping us we will see to it that but one flag shall float throughout the length and breadth of our land. [Loud applause]. Now, one or the other of these two ideas respecting our government will eventually triumph. If the Democratic idea triumphs, the outlook of our country is anything but pleasant to contemplate. We or our children may see this broad and glorious realm broken into numerous powerless and petty divisions. We may see one independent empire on the Pacific coast, and the remainder of our land broken into half a dozen insignificant nationalities. We may have in America the same condition of affairs that since the wars of the first Napoleon has reduced Germany from a first-class power to a condition of comparative weakness. The fond dream and aspiration of the German mind for years and years has been for German unity. To-day Germany is united, and being united stands the arbiter of the destinies of Europe. A few years ago when you asked an emigrant from Germany his nationality, he would answer that he was a Prussian, or a Bavarian, or a resident of some other of the petty principalities; but to-day ask him what is his nationality, his "Fatherland," and he will say "Germany." And every German clings to the unity of Germany as the only salvation of Germany. And the same feeling induces us to cling to the unity of our nation as its only salvation.

THE DEMOCRACY DURING THE WAR.

I will give you another reason why I deem it unsafe to trust the country again in the hands of the Democratic party. If any of you gentlemen desired to engage a man to occupy a confidential relation, you would like to know what manner of man he was—whether he was worthy of trust or not. You would inquire what had been his past life. If his conduct in the past had been right and honorable, you would trust him and engage him in your service, otherwise not. Why not in public affairs use the same common sense that you use in your private affairs? Let us then in the same way study the course of the two parties which have controlled the government and see which has shown itself most worthy to be trusted. To go no farther back than the war. What was the course of the two parties during that time? What did the Democratic party as a party do during the war? I wish to do justice to all and in all things; and I am glad and proud to say that when the war broke out the Democratic young men of the country came forward and enlisted just as promptly, just as gallantly, just as gaily as any; and God forbid that I from any supposed political necessity, or any other reason, should fail to give them the just tribute of praise they deserve for their patriotic conduct. They did their duty fully, manfully and nobly. But these were not the representative men

of the Democratic party. Neither were those other men who always voted the Democratic ticket, because it *was* the Democratic ticket. But I refer to the men who directed the policy and wrote the platform of the Democratic party during the war. What was their action? Will you put your finger on a single measure deemed essential by President Lincoln and his cabinet for the suppression of the rebellion, that the organized Democratic party of the north did not denounce and oppose? When it was proposed to issue greenbacks (that they now are so wonderfully in love with) they told us that there was no constitutional power to issue them. When we proposed to issue bonds they said not that there was no constitutional power to issue them, but that nobody would purchase them; that they would adorn the walls of saloons and barber shops, and be as worthless as so much waste paper. When President Lincoln proposed to issue his Emancipation Proclamation, a howl of indignation went up from the Democratic party all over the land. When it was proposed to arm the blacks and let such of them as chose to enlist, die for us instead of our own brave sons, you remember how fiercely they protested. I remember the position I then held gave to me the power of commissioning the Iowa regiments. I remember that I received letters from some officers, high in rank, that if that measure should pass they would resign their commissions, leave the army and come home, for they did not enlist for the purpose of fighting in a "nigger" war. I remember also that I wrote back in reply that I should be very sorry to lose their valuable services, but if they were determined upon resigning, I thanked God that there was not an Iowa regiment in whose ranks I could not find soldiers out of whom I could make just as good officers as ever wore shoulder straps. [Applause]. The act arming the blacks was passed, but I do not remember that any of these indignant officers resigned their commissions! But I repeat the statement—there was not a single leading measure deemed absolutely necessary by those to whom the conduct of the war for saving the Union had been intrusted by the people of this country, that this organized Democracy did not resist.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND RECONSTRUCTION.

Well, the war was ended. We did what the organized Democracy had declared we could not do; we suppressed the rebellion and preserved the unity of the States. Then came the question of reconstruction, the question as to what should be done with the people and the States, that had just laid down their arms, after being defeated in their efforts to destroy the Union. There were two plans proposed. The Democratic plan was very easy, plain and simple; it was to allow these who had just laid down their arms—the white men of the rebellious States—to reorganize those States; but there was one difficulty in the way. In those States there were some four millions of black people. We have given these people their freedom, nominally. But if we

had left them to be dealt with as their former masters desired to deal with them, their nominal freedom would have been worth but little. Louisiana, after reconstruction, after her first reconstruction before she was reconstructed in accordance with the act of Congress passed for that purpose, gave us a foretaste of what might be expected, if the white men of the South were left to organize their State governments to suit themselves. The Legislature of Louisiana passed a law that in any year, any colored man who, by a certain day in January had not hired out his services for the entire year, should be arrested by certain local officers authorized to do so, and his services sold for the year to the man who would pay the most for them. Is there any man in this audience who has made his living by hiring out to work for other men? I presume there are many here, who like myself have at some period of their lives done so. Now, what would you say if the General Assembly of Iowa should pass a law that you, unless by the middle of January in each year you had hired yourself to some man for the entire year, should be arrested, taken up by the township trustees and auctioned off? Why, I tell you the passage of such a law as that would raise more disturbance in Iowa than the license question! My friends, I am now sixty-two years old; I have mixed with the world a good deal in my time; I have been brought into contact with a good many men, both good men and mean men, but I never found a man meaner than the man who would use the services of another in time of need, and then turn his back on the man who had risked his life to help him out of the trouble. I don't believe the devil would want a man to be any meaner than that. [Laughter]. I know that I cannot here address an audience as large as this without addressing some Iowa soldiers. Some of you when in the South have attended a negro meeting. You have heard these colored men pray for you. It may be that they did not use very cultured language. You could hear better prayers any day in any of your churches here. But when I was a boy at my mother's knee, I was taught that the prayer of the poor and oppressed and down-trodden, found as ready access to the ear of the good God, and as ready answer from him, as the prayer of the rich and noble. It may be that in these later days, in the light of advanced science, you have found a better theology than that, but that is what I was brought up to believe. And if perchance those early teachings be true, if there be any power in prayer, you cannot tell nor can I how much in the time of our greatest peril the prayers of these poor, oppressed, down-trodden people aided us. But they did more than pray for us; they worked for us. And when still later in the war we would allow them to do so, they took arms in their hands and in their awkward, clumsy way they fought for us. And when praying, working or fighting, they did what many a man who now turns up his nose at them and calls them "damn niggers," did not do; they did all they

could for the cause of the Union. And if after these men had risked their lives for us, and by their aid we have got through our trouble, we have left them at the mercy of their bitterest foes, we would have deserved to be a hissing and a scorn to every honorable man that walks God's green earth. [Loud applause]. And yet, because we did not commit that ineffable meanness, that inexpressible baseness, the whole northern Democracy denounced us from one end of this country to the other. Thank God that we have, nevertheless, had the manhood to stand by them as they stood by us.

But the Democracy say, allowing all these things to be true, you ought not to talk about it. That tends to keep up the angry feelings produced by the war. This ought to be an era of

PEACE AND RECONCILIATION.

Now, my friends, I will go as far as any one, I will do as much as any man who hears me toward building up the waste places of the South, restoring her to peace and prosperity, and giving her citizens every right that can be rightfully claimed by any citizen of this free republic. But one thing I will not do, or aid in doing—because I do not believe it to be best for them, nor for us; and that is to place in their hands the control of the government which, they tried their best to destroy and that we mean to save. That one thing I will not do. You must each judge for yourself whether you will do it.

But you say you are for conciliation. Well, so am I. And now I ask you how far you are willing to go toward conciliation? During the war we had in our naval service one of the most gallant sailors, one of the bravest men that ever risked his life in behalf of any noble cause, I mean Admiral Farragut. He it was, who irradiated Mobile Bay with a halo of naval glory. He it was, that forced his ships between the rebel forts Jackson and St. Philip, and compelled the surrender of New Orleans and all the rebel strong holds in that section of the South. Yet he was one of the most modest and unassuming men I ever knew. He is dead and has gone to his reward. Our rebel brethren had during the war a somewhat celebrated naval officer. Raphael Semmes, commander of the Alabama, which did so much damage to our commerce. He still lives, but totally unreconciled, unconciliated to-day. You will remember that some one wrote him an invitation to attend our National Centennial Celebration that is to be held at Philadelphia next year. He returned an indignant refusal, in which he also advised every southern man to stay away. Now, he needs conciliation. It would no doubt conciliate him to appoint him to fill the place made vacant by the death of Admiral Farragut. Are you ready to do that? If not, why not? That would do what you Democrats say you are so anxious to do—conciliate him and many of his friends as well. I cannot think of anything you could do that would be more conciliating. Why not conciliate him and his friends

by making him an Admiral in the American Navy in the place of Farragut? Again, some of you boys who are now listening to me, marched with Sherman in his march through the heart of the Rebel Confederacy to the Atlantic shore. I need not rehearse to you even the leading incidents of that grand March to the Sea. But, I ask you are you willing to ask him to step down and out from his position at the head of the armies of the nation, and put Beauregard in his place? If you are willing to do so, say so, if not, tell me why not? So with the gallant Sheridan as well. True, a leading Democratic Senator last winter declared that Phil Sheridan was not fit to breathe the air of a free republic. The poor man forgot that, but for Phil Sheridan and men like him, we would not have a republic to breath air of any kind in. But are you willing that Sheridan should step down and out from his position in the armies of the nation, and Forrest or Braxton Bragg be appointed to his place? Nothing surely could be more "conciliating" to them and their friends all over the South? If not, tell me why not; and I will tell you why I am not willing to place in positions of trust and honor, other men who were no better than they, South and North—in fact not quite so good; for the rebel officers of whom I have spoken had the courage to fight for what they believed to be right, while the men who are now trying to get hold of our government did not have the courage to do that. (Applause.)

CORRUPTION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

But, our Democratic friends say the Republican Party is so corrupt that we cannot trust it. Well, a good deal might be said about that. There is too much corruption in public life, and too much demoralization in private life. Think of things twenty years ago, here in Iowa, you who have lived here that long, and you will find that as individuals we have been demoralized. My experience tells me this, that when there is demoralization in private life, you must expect it in public life. I have not time to go fully into the discussion of the causes which have led to this demoralization, but will examine this question of political corruption a little. You are told by Democratic speakers and Democratic newspapers, that the Republican Party is corrupt and rotten. While there is some truth in that, there is an immense deal of falsehood. It is already evident that the next campaign will be conducted by our Democratic friends under a continued cry of corruption. They have in their employ as editors and newspaper writers, men who write unscrupulously and recklessly—without caring whether what they say be true or false. The way they manage to keep the country stirred up, and induce a general belief or suspicion of their accusations is this, they bring charges against the Secretary of the Interior, or some other cabinet officer. This will lead to an examination before a Committee of Congress; as soon as the committee is appointed these fellows knowing from the first that their

charges are false, will begin to "hedge" by impugning the character of the committee; and on finding that the testimony does not prove the charges they will boldly accuse the committee of "whitewashing." Political writers with no respect for right, truth or justice, will recklessly make charges of all kinds, knowing them to be false; and there are too many people who without taking the trouble to investigate them, will receive them as true. It is a pity that men writing ostensibly for the purpose of instructing the public, should not be desirous of giving them the truth; but so it is. And therefore, you must discount largely before you believe without proof, the charges made against public men. I have often thought of what was said by a friend of mine in Muscatine County, a Mr. Kincaid, a solid, hard-headed, sensible man. I had been invited down to Muscatine to make a fourth of July address on the occasion of the unveiling of a monument of some of our fallen soldiers. Well, my friend and I were talking of the alleged corruption of the Republican Party, and comparing it with the old Democratic Party, that some of these writers boast of having been so pure. We were talking more particularly of Mr. Leffler, my competitor for Governor—a gentleman whom I have not the honor of being acquainted with, but who I am told is a gentleman. When my friend said that the claim of the Democratic speakers and writers, that in those old days investigations were rare, while now-a-days investigating committees were constantly at work, reminded him of the time when he lived in Ohio, and used to make maple sugar. Many of you young men who have grown up in Iowa have never seen maple sugar made; so I will briefly explain to you the process. The sugar maple tree is tapped, a hole cut through the bark into the sap wood, and a "spile" driven in below the hole, to carry the sap that comes from the tree into a pail or trough. The sap thus gathered is boiled and by proper manipulation is made into syrup or sugar. And my friend said that two neighbors of his using precisely the same material, and the same appliances, produced very different grades of syrup and sugar. That of one was dark colored, impure, ill-tasting, scarcely fit to eat. That of the other was clear, and pure, and sweet. And he said the difference in the results was caused thus, the man that produced the dirty sugar, as the impurities came up to the surface stirred them all in again with a stick; so the whole mass was dirty. But his neighbor stood beside the kettle all the time with skimmer in hand, and when any impurities came to the surface, he skimmed them off and threw them one side. And that he said was the difference between the old Democratic Party, and the Republican Party of to-day. In the good old Democratic days, if any fraud or wrong was committed by a Democratic official, they would at once stir it in out of sight, and keep it under, while the Republican Party stands beside the political kettle, with skimmer in hand, and as fast

as any impurities appear they are skimmed off and thrown aside. (Great applause.) This is the illustration my friend used; you must judge for yourselves whether it be truthful or not. You will remember that a couple of years ago we had a kettle boiling fiercely, while the Credit Mobilier business was being investigated and men stood by with skimmer in hand; watching to see what would come to the surface. And it was noticed that when you dipped in the skimmer and caught a Republican wasp, side by side with him, you found a Democratic yellow jacket. [Laughter]. The Democrats raised a triumphant cry when we caught Oakes Ames of Massachusetts, but lo! in the same skimmer full, we found James Brooks, a leading Democratic representative from New York. Then in the Pacific mail investigation they caught King, a Republican representative from Minnesota, but side by side with him we found another Democratic representative from Brooklyn, N. Y. And so on through that investigation and other investigations since. And I want to say this thing, because I believe it to be true, I do not believe that any man who hears me can recollect the time when men accused of fraud were pursued as earnestly as during these Republican days. Sometimes we fail to catch our rascals, and sometimes when we have caught them we fail to convict them, just as you fail to capture and convict criminals under your penal laws. You ought not to expect the government to do with its criminals what you fail to do with your criminals. You make mistakes in your own private affairs, and it is unfair of you to demand that public officers should make no mistakes.

HOW TO PREVENT CORRUPTION IN POLITICS.

I am as much opposed to corruption as any one. I desire to see the party I belong to and love, kept pure as sincerely as any man. But the question is—how shall it be done? Are you a church member? Have you no unworthy men in your churches, serving the Devil at heart, and pretending to show you the way to heaven? Can you expect a political party to be purer than the churches? And when you find corrupt men in your church, what do you do? Do you abandon the church, and start off over the prairies on your way to the Devil by your own route, (laughter) or do you stand by your organization, and do the best to make it pure as it should be? Let me speak to you on this subject frankly and truly. You men who complain of the corruption of politics, are the very men, who in too many cases are the most to blame for that corruption. You have in your hands the power to make such nominations as you desire, if you are not too indifferent or too lazy to do so. If you fail to exercise that power, the fault is with you. And I do say this, that when so much complaint is made because bad men are nominated for office, it is because the men who complain the most loudly, are in the main good men and good citizens, will not go to the primary meetings and there do what they

can to prevent such nominations. When the day comes for the township meeting, or the ward meeting, what do you do? Why you stay at home, the most of you. The merchant says, "I can't afford to lose my time to attend that meeting;" the mechanic says, "I can't afford to lose my time," the farmer says, "I can't afford to lose my time," and the pot-house politician, and the men who have axes to grind make the nominations, and then if they don't suit you, as very likely they won't, you will howl just as loudly, and complain of the corruption of politics just as bitterly as though you could not have prevented it. It is the duty of every man to belong to some political party, and to attend to his duties as a member of that party, endeavoring to see to it that only honest and worthy and capable men are put in nomination.

THE FINANCIAL QUESTION.

I did desire to say something in regard to our finances; but it is getting so late that I can refer to that subject but briefly. The subject is one of such importance that it ought to be carefully examined by our people. My ideas on the subject may not be worth any more than those of any of you; yet any man's ideas may be worth listening to. This much we all agree in—that the financial condition of the country is not so satisfactory as we would like to have it. Some of us look back to the time of the war, and say those were good times, because wheat was two or three dollars a bushel, and you would like to have such times financially come again. Now I will tell you how to have an excellent good time—I haven't taken out any patent on the process, and do not charge anything for it. If you have a piece of real estate worth \$10,000 or \$20,000, go and mortgage it and borrow a lot of money, then spend the money; while you are spending the money you will have an excellent good time. You can buy new clothes, and a gold watch for yourself, and dresses and jewelry for your wife, and horses and shot guns and pointer dogs for your boys, and the whole family can have a good time, while the money lasts. But when you come to foot the bills and pay up, the pinch begins. Now when the rebellion broke out we wanted money; we found we must have it to carry on the war, and to obtain it we placed on this whole nation a mortgage of three thousand million dollars, and while we were spending the money we had a good time. Uncle Sam stood there with both hands full of greenbacks, handing them out liberally to pay for putting down the rebellion; and all the while any number of thieves and pickpockets were surrounding the old gentleman, helping themselves to all they could carry away. And now for a few years past, we have been paying up that mortgage, the process isn't half so pleasant as spending the money was. We have done very well so far, we have paid about one-third of the debt incurred during the war, and are paying more of it every month. To return to the case of the individual; you know

that after giving the first mortgage, and having a good time with the money you borrowed, if instead of paying your debt like an honest man, you can add to your gaiety by adding a second mortgage on your farm, if any body will take it. So if we have a mind to, if we really think it the best thing to do, we can stop paying our debts and borrow more money and have a good time of it, until we have exhausted all we borrowed on the second mortgage. But so surely as one day follows another, so soon will the money obtained from the second mortgage on our country be used up *sometime*; and when that is all spent, the pinch will come again and the pinch will be harder than ever.

ANOTHER REASON WHY TIMES WERE EASY DURING THE WAR.

Let me before going any further remind you of another reason why times were easy during the war. We had then, counting both armies north and south, something over a million of men in the field; vigorous, able bodied men, and they were producing nothing; not a thing, not only that, but we were feeding and clothing them, and not only *that*, but we were supplying them with arms, ammunition, yes, and all the munitions of war; building ships, buying horses and wagons, etc., etc. The men who remained at home were engaged in producing these things, while the government was engaged in buying them and paying an enormous price for them. By and by the rebellion was suppressed and peace came. Then the condition of things changed; a million of men returned home, and when they returned to their homes, they ceased being consumers, and at once became producers. The market they had made for our productions ceased to exist. With the loss of our market, the amount of our agricultural products increased, and we had to seek a market for them abroad. And on going abroad with them, we had to sell them at the prices prevailing in those foreign markets; not only that, but we had to sell at prices measured by a coin standard. Of course the prices of our products at once tumbled down on our hands. The same was true of the manufacturing interests of our country. The manufacturers thought they could defy the natural laws of trade and prevent a reduction in the prices of their goods. You will remember that in 1873 you could read the proceedings of manufacturers of every kind; men who made shoes, woolen goods, cotton goods, etc., etc., combining among themselves to keep prices up. Their products were sold mainly in this country, so they did not feel the effect of the changed condition of things so promptly as the farmers, who had to go abroad to find a market for their surplus. But their turn came at last, they organized into combinations, and tried in every way to keep up the old prices; but to keep up the old prices when the old condition of things had passed away was of course impossible. They might just as well have tried to lift themselves by the straps of their boots, or hold themselves out at

arms length by the waist-band of their breeches. There is a proportion that must always exist between the prices of the agricultural products of a country, and its manufactures. Arbitrary edicts of powerful combinations may prevent it for awhile; but the result is sure at last. When the prices of agricultural products go down, money becomes scarce in the hands of our farmers, and they cannot buy manufactured goods as freely as before; then the ware-houses of the country become loaded with unsold manufactured goods; then the manufacturers have to sell at reduced prices, or not at all. Then they are hurt, then they squeal. The manufactured goods which two or three years ago the manufacturers agreed among themselves they would not sell at less than a certain fixed price, are now being forced upon the market at a much lower figure. Meanwhile the condition of the agricultural interests of the country is improving, the harrow has gone over us farmers and passed by; the harrow is now going over them and we are standing. And right here is another combination; the men who work for the manufacturers in the factories and shops also form combinations among themselves, and refuse to work unless they are paid as much for their labor, as when wheat was worth two and a half or three dollars a bushel; and the manufacturers cannot pay high prices to their workmen, and sell their goods at the low prices they are compelled to; and hence there arises another trouble; but when these troubles pass away as they will, the different branches of our business will all get into their proper relations to each other; the prices of farming products, of manufactured goods, and of the labor that produced the manufactured goods will all be restored to their proper relation to each other. We farmers are now out of our trouble, in Iowa at least, we have not had better times in twenty years. Our people as a people are as prosperous as they have been in twenty years.

OUR UNSTABLE CURRENCY.

There is one other trouble I ought to mention in this connection. Among the various things I have done in the course of my life to make an honest living, I spent some time to make a farm in the timbered portions of Ohio. I remember that while there, in driving a wagon I had the bad luck to break the tongue. And one of the most difficult tasks I ever attempted in my life was to get that wagon home without a tongue. [Laughter]. Now we people of these United States have been driving our business wagon these last ten years without a tongue. That is, we have not had a medium of circulation among us that had a steady, fixed, stable value. For ten years past there has been no sixty days, when the price of gold, or rather the value of our currency as compared with gold, has not fluctuated several per cent. So men cannot with any safety calculate for the future. Let me give you an illustration. Our surplus goes abroad. As I have shown you, the

price of our surplus grain in the foreign market, settles the price of *all* our grain. The people of New York, buying to consume in New York or New England, will not pay more for wheat purchased for that purpose, than for the wheat they purchased to send to Liverpool. Well, we will say, I want to send ten thousand bushels of wheat to Liverpool. Gold is now, let us suppose, \$1.15. If I knew that when I got returns from my cargo, the gold I got for it in Liverpool would still be worth \$1.15 in our currency, I would know precisely what I was doing. But I know that it may be five cents lower, or five cents higher. There is a chance of gain, there is an equal risk of loss. That loss, if I am a prudent man, I must discount in my purchase. And the dealer of whom I purchase must discount in the same way, the risk *he* runs. Now take that risk out of the business, by making that paper money equivalent to coin, and you take away one of the risks that grain dealers have to discount to-day, and which *you* have to pay. The accumulated losses from this source fall finally upon the man who raises the grain; the defects of our depreciated and unstable currency reflects back, back, back, until at last it is felt, and felt the most seriously by every farmer in Dubuque county, who raises a bushel of wheat. The continual change in the value of our currency forms an element of uncertainty, which we western men have to pay for, and that heavily. For this reason I desire to have the day come as soon as it can come, without serious injury to the interests of our country, when a paper dollar will be worth a dollar in gold; and the whole business of our country cleared of this element of uncertainty. Then the wagon having a tongue once more, will be able to make a straight path, instead of a crooked one. That is my view of the matter. That is the view, so far as I understand it, of the Republican party. They have placed on the statute book of the nation a promise, that on the first day of January, 1879, and thereafter, they will pay in coin the promises to pay that circulate among you under the name of "greenbacks." I believe that a state of things can be reached by that day that will enable this to be done without serious injury to the business of the country. I know that people

CLAMOR FOR MORE MONEY.

Why, we have to-day more money than can be used! Go to any money center of the nation, and you will find lying idle, piled up in the banks, thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars, that can be had at a low rate of interest, but the people will not borrow even at a low interest. What is the trouble? The trouble is we do not know what is to be the future financial condition of this country. Until we have settled the question, whether our paper is to become equal in value to coin, or whether the nation will adopt the opposite policy advocated by some, of putting a second mortgage upon our country to bring "good times" for a few years, to be followed by a crash that will

make every man's head ache. Until this question is settled, capitalists will be timid, men will be afraid to invest their money in new business enterprises. My own idea on this subject I have sometimes illustrated in this way. I know it is not a classical illustration, but most of you will understand it. Let one of you go to a store and buy a gallon jug, wash it out nice and clean, then put into it a quart of whiskey. Now, that is adequate to furnish a certain amount of-of-of- comfort to those who drink it. [Laughter]. Now pour in a quart of water. The liquor in the jug is not so strong as it was before. It is what an Englishman would call "'af-an'-'af." Put in another quart, it is weaker yet. So go on till you have filled a barrel. There is a great deal more bulk than there was at the beginning, but no more "drunk." In fact not so much, for a man cannot drink enough to make him drunk.

The world has tried the experiment over and over again; in every age and country, men have been found who have thought and taught, that by increasing the quantity of the circulating medium, without adding to its value, times could be made easier and better; but the experiment has always failed, and always will fail. We sometimes say that a greenback is as good as the gold. In one sense it is, and in another sense the assertion is untrue. You may apply the proper chemicals and wipe out every vestige of what is printed on the "greenback," until it becomes white paper of no more value than any other bit of paper. But take a gold piece five dollars in value, and hammer it till it retains not a vestige of its original appearance, and it is worth five dollars still. Take it to the crucible of the chemist and melt it, and still it is worth five dollars. Paper money has no intrinsic value whatever. Print enough paper money and it would become like the money of the Southern Confederacy; when the war began a man went to market with this money in his pocket, and he carried home his purchase in his basket; before the war closed he carried his money to market in his basket, and carried home his purchase in his pocket.

But, gentlemen, I am tired, and I am sure you must be. I have been engaged in this canvass this is the fourth week, talking almost every evening. So far as I am personally concerned, I have only this to say further: You must judge for yourselves whether you want my services for Governor. If not, I shall be content, at least as contented as a man could reasonably be expected to be under the circumstances. [Laughter]. If you should conclude that you *do* want me, I shall be equally contented [Laughter], perhaps more so. [Renewed Laughter]. And if elected I will perform the duties of the office as well and faithfully as I can. [Loud and universal applause].

Of this speech and the occasion on which it was delivered, the editor of the *Dubuque Times*, writes:

"Gov. Kirkwood had a splendid audience last night, one just to his own powers, and just to the people of Dubuque. The Atheneum was

filled as we have never seen it filled on a similar occasion, and by an audience composed of the most intelligent voters of both parties, who evidently enjoyed the clear, candid, statesman-like appeal to their judgments and their consciences, for the entire audience remained till the close. The Governor was in fine condition, notwithstanding the exhausting labors of a four weeks' campaign, and spoke with all his old-time force, readiness and clearness. Few men have ever had such a faculty as Gov. Kirkwood, to make clear to the commonest understanding the propositions he sought to elucidate and few men have ever been able as well as he to enforce a conviction of his thorough honesty in dealing with his hearers. There is never even the faintest tinge of sophistry in his argument, no shadow of demagoguery in his appeals. He treats his audience as if he respected them, and invariably gains their confidence. He is the true teacher, because he always instructs, and he always elevates. His language is always the clearest, purest, most forcible English, and his words flow with the facility of his thought. The practical cast of his mind makes easy to him the discussion of those matters of a material nature, upon which the people are delighted to be informed, and hence he is thoroughly at home in a canvass like this. He is indeed the true statesman; the man of affairs who is as wise in action as he is sound in theory. With a moral nature in keeping with his intellect, he is just such a man as the people ought to place at the helm of affairs. This we are sure was the universal estimate of him by the audience last night. Democrats were as enthusiastic as the Republicans in expression of approval of the manner of the man, and of his speech, however they differed from the matter of the latter."

During the canvass he had occasion to remain over night at West Liberty, where a temperance convention was in session during the evening, and he went in as a listener to their deliberations, when he was called upon for his opinions on the topics under discussion, and as they differed from those of the man who had called him up, that gentleman intimated rather tartly, that if those were his opinions he need not expect many votes from those in attendance. When the Governor replied that he had not come there to beg for their "cold victuals," their "old clothes," or their "votes."

The following is a portion of a letter written and published during the gubernatorial canvass:

CLARINDA, Sept. 4, 1875.

"During the memorable siege of Vicksburg Gov. Kirkwood paid the Iowa boys a personal visit and visited every Iowa regiment in that

vicinity. He also visited their several hospitals; his feelings were greatly moved with compassion toward the many sick, wounded and dying. Although every medical and sanitary measure was adopted for their comfort, yet they lacked one thing, which the Governor was not slow in procuring, and that was (as he said) he did not find a chaplain to minister words of kindness and consolation to their sick and dying men, or point them to the 'Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world.' Hence he came to see Col. Stone (chaplains were as yet few) and what had the Governor to say do you ask? * * * Col. Stone sent for me, and entering his tent he handed me a chair and taking one himself began: 'Well, Mr. Hollems, the Governor of Iowa was to see me a few days ago and in course of conversation remarked that he had been through many of the hospitals and that he had seen hundreds of sick and wounded soldiers and not a few of them in a dying condition, and 'to my astonishment,' he remarked, 'I did not find a chaplain in these hospitals to speak one kind word to these dying men and to give them such encouragement as they needed; and colonel, this will never do, never! I want you to have a chaplain and to make it his imperative duty to visit these hospitals, minister to the spiritual wants of the sick and wounded and dying, and I will commission anyone whom you may appoint.' The colonel continued, 'So far as I am concerned I care but little about a chaplain, yet it is strictly true as the Governor represented, and if there is a place where a chaplain can do more good than another it is among the sick, wounded and dying, and I have concluded to appoint you chaplain of my regiment if you will accept the position.'

"You may be sure there was just then somebody taken by surprise, for I had not any idea of promotion and especially of one so high. 'Well, colonel,' said I, 'so far as I am personally concerned I would rather remain a private. Besides, I have sometimes acted foolishly in cracking jokes with the boys and these things will stare me in the face.'

"The colonel replied that he had not heard of any improprieties and thought it was imaginary on my part. True, I had preached occasionally in camp by request, but being a private I did not feel that degree of responsibility that a person would feel occupying a more responsible position, and consequently not as watchful at all times as I should have been; but said I, 'Colonel, I have a large family, am poor and for the sake of those who are very near and dear to me, I accept the appointment.' The colonel issued his order and it was read to the regiment while on dress parade behind the rifle pits at Vicksburg, on the 8th day of June, 1862, at which time and place I handed over my rifle to Lieut. Steele and started for the hospitals. I thank God for His benign providence over me. I also thank Gov. Kirkwood for the appointment, for had he not gone among those hospitals I should never have been chaplain.

"I thank Col. Stone for the selection, for he stated to me that he had had a dozen applications from the 'kid-gloved gentry' of Iowa as he expressed it for the chaplaincy of the regiment; but said he, 'You have taken your musket and come out like a man, and if anybody deserves the position you do.'"

A. HOLLEMS,

Chaplain 25th Regt. Iowa Vols.



CHAPTER XVI.

His Third Election as Governor—Inaugural Address—Growth of the Nation—Of the State—Grants a Prisoner a Conditional Pardon—Conditions Violated—Prisoner Re-imprisoned—His Case Before the Courts—Governor Sustained by the Supreme Court—Chosen U. S. Senator—Reception by His Neighbors—His Great Speech in the Senate—Comments Upon it by Senators and Others.

The canvass of votes by the Legislature disclosed the fact that he had been elected by more than 30,000 majority over all; his competitor on the Democratic ticket having been Mr. Shepherd Leffler, one of the ablest and most popular men in his party, who had been a member of the Territorial Legislature of the first Constitutional Convention and also a member of Congress.

On the 13th day of January the inauguration took place, when the Governor delivered the following:

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives and Fellow Citizens:

Nearly one hundred years have passed since the Declaration of American Independence, and soon our people will be busy with preparation for a proper celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth. The period of our national existence has been one of vast advancement in science, in the arts, in invention, and in appliances for human comfort and convenience. It has been remarkable for improvements in the speed and convenience of locomotion, and in the celerity of communication; for a development of the wonderful powers of steam, so little known a century ago that the countless uses of that motor to-day make it practically a new agent brought into subjection to man; for the discovery that the mightiest and subtlest force known to exist in the physical universe can be made, as in the electric telegraph, to do man's bidding. The sun, too, has been made his servant, and its rays are grasped and trained to preserve for him the semblance of his loved ones. Improvements in machinery have characterized the century, which have at once lessened the severity of labor, increased its returns, and multiplied the comforts of the great mass of people in

all civilized nations. Education has been more generally diffused than ever before; and the printing press, the great educator, has made more rapid strides than in all the previous centuries of its history, and to-day there are publishing houses, any one of which could, in a given time, almost duplicate all the work of all the presses of the world, in the same period of time, one hundred years ago. In short, the century now closing may be safely said to have witnessed a larger advance in human knowledge, greater improvement in man's condition socially, and mightier progress in every department of human activity and inquiry, reaching all classes of society, and affecting all the nations of the earth, than any similar period in the world's history. Among the many causes that have tended to bring about this great advancement, one of the most powerful, in my judgment, has been the existence of this republic, and the growth and prosperity of this people. To a review of this growth and prosperity, and the development and progress of the nation and our own State, I have thought it not inappropriate, in this the centennial year of the republic's life, to devote a portion of the formal address required by custom on this occasion.

Nearly a century ago, our forefathers laid the foundations of our national political edifice; and they laid them broad and deep. Yet, when, after a hard and weary struggle they had achieved the independence for which they had risked so much and fought so well, this handful of people—some three millions in all, scattered in a narrow belt along the Atlantic coast—found that the bond of union that had held them together during the conflict with the mother country was exceedingly weak when the common danger had passed; while local jealousies and conflicting interests menaced total disruption. They were poor, and burdened with the debts which the States, both separately and unitedly, had incurred during the war for independence. Although admitted to the family of nations, they were tolerated rather than welcomed; and their expressed devotion to the principles of civil liberty was regarded by the advocates of monarchy as evidence of either sickly sentimentality or political heresy. The statesmen of the old world, trained in the school of monarchy, admitted, although with hesitation and reluctance, that a republican form of government might be maintained in, and suffice for, a poor and sparsely inhabited country like Switzerland, but they utterly denied that it could be maintained in, or would suffice for, a great and powerful nation. The territory of which our forefathers were the acknowledged owners, and upon which this experiment was to be tried, reached on the north, as now, to Canada, on the west the Mississippi river defined its limit, and on the south the thirty-first parallel of latitude cut it off entirely from the Gulf of Mexico, and left the mouth of the Mississippi wholly in the hands of another power. Thus supplied with nothing but territory and prospects—the former perhaps abundant, but the latter, in the

opinion of the world's wise men, discouraging enough, and not at all dazzling even to the most sanguine of its founders—our republic commenced its career.

To-day that territory has expanded southward until we hold the northern line of the Gulf coast to the Rio Grande, and westward until it includes the Pacific coast from near the thirty-second parallel to Cape Flattery, not counting our recently acquired possession of Alaska. The Mississippi, formerly our western boundary, is now east of the center of our domain. Our thirteen States have increased to thirty-seven, with territory enough left for nine or ten more, each as large as some of the more powerful European kingdoms; and our three millions of people, a large porportion of whom were slaves, have grown to forty millions—all, thank God! freemen. We have had the fortune common to all nations—harmony and contention, prosperity and adversity, peace and war; yet I think it true that no other nation, during the last hundred years, has prospered as has ours, and in no other land have the people as a whole enjoyed nearly so great a degree at once of liberty, of order, of safety, and of comfort; while our system of government, supposed to be lacking in unity and force, has been found to be able not only to endure the strain of foreign war, but to suppress utterly and unconditionally a rebellion the most extensive, the most powerful, and in all respects the most formidable the world has known.

I have said, and I repeat it, that in my judgment our existence and prosperity, as a government and people, have had much, more perhaps than any other one cause, to do with the improved condition of the masses of the people in all civilized nations. The monarchists of the old world, while, as before remarked, doubting, or affecting to doubt, man's capacity for self-government, except in isolated cases, yet looked with suspicion and distrust upon the attempt to establish here what has since been so happily called by one of the purest and wisest men the world has produced, "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people;" and they feared, not unreasonably, that, if such attempt should perchance be successful, the example would cause disquiet amongst their own people, who had no share in administering the governments under which they lived. This anticipation has been realized. Our example has had its influence for good upon the people of other lands. Seeing that here liberty is compatible with order, that here men may govern themselves, that here bayonets are not necessary to the stability of the government, although when danger menaces, millions of brave and willing hearts are found to rally to its defense, our oppressed brethren of the old world have striven, and are striving, to relieve themselves of the burdens they have so long borne, and to assert the inherent and inalienable rights of man. The truth of the doctrine, that "all governments derive their

just powers from the consent of the governed," is steadily taking stronger hold on the minds of the common people of Europe, and is slowly but surely removing their burdens, enlarging their liberties, and increasing the scope of their comforts. This consideration should add to the zeal and earnestness with which we guard, protect, and cherish the system of government to which, under God, we owe the blessings we enjoy.

Our own State has a history of remarkable growth and development. When our national government was formed Iowa was a part of the immense domain held in America by Spain—a possession which, for extent of territory, variety of climate, fertility of soil, and measureless though then unsuspected wealth of mineral resources, was undoubtedly the most magnificent any nation has ever held. What is now Iowa was then as little known to the people of the thirteen colonies as Alaska is to-day to us. It was transferred with other territory by Spain to France, and by France to the United States in 1803. It formed at one time part of the Louisiana territory, then of the Missouri territory, then was attached to the territory of Michigan, more recently was a part of the territory of Wisconsin, was (with most of the present State of Minnesota and of the territory of Dakota) constituted the territory of Iowa in 1838, and was admitted as a state in 1846. In 1838 our population was 22,859; in 1846 it was 97,538; and in 1875 it was 1,350,544. By the census of 1850, we were entitled to two representatives in Congress; by that of 1870, we have nine. The debt of our State is but nominal in amount. We have provided suitable homes for our afflicted unfortunates—the insane, the deaf and dumb, the blind—and are properly caring for them. We are paying a small part of our debt of gratitude by supporting and educating the children of our dead soldiers who need such care. We have established a home and school for the reformation of juvenile offenders, hoping thereby to win them back to the pleasant path of virtue; as well as institutions for the punishment and reclamation of older wrong-doers. We support schools open to all for the education of all, with colleges and a university for those seeking the higher branches of learning; seeking in these and other ways to show our gratitude to God for his goodness to us by caring for his children and our brethren.

I cannot permit this occasion to pass without a brief reference to the part taken by Iowa in our civil war. She was ever true as steel to the good cause. Although yet in her nonage, having existed as a State less than fifteen years when the war commenced, she did her duty faithfully and thoroughly. We, occupying this wilderness of thirty years before, sent to the field forty-five regiments and two battalions of infantry, nine regiments of cavalry, and four batteries of artillery; besides companies, detachments, and individuals in the regiments of other States and in the regular army. We gave in all to the service

over 75,000 men; and I but give utterance to what you all know when I say that among the hosts of brave and good men who rallied to the defense of the flag, none were found braver or better than the men of Iowa. There is not, I think, a single one of the States which so insanely sought our ruin and their own, in whose soil Iowa has not deposited, as the best of evidence of her devotion to the Union, the ashes of some of her heroic dead. May they rest in peace, and may their example lead us and those who will come after us to guard with devotion and reverence that for which they so patiently suffered and so nobly died.

Iowa has had a large measure of growth and prosperity; yet she has but fairly entered upon her career, and our eyes have been permitted to behold only the beginnings, dazzling though they are, of her glory. We have hitherto been mainly an agricultural people, and doubtless will ever remain so; but capital is accumulating amongst us. This must shortly seek investment in manufactures, and as these are established and prosper, our population and wealth will increase still more rapidly.

Yet, as I have said, agriculture will, for many years to come, and I think for all time, be the leading pursuit of our people and our greatest source of wealth. We have in our State substantially no waste or untillable land. Our soil is fertile and easy of cultivation beyond even the conception of those who have not seen and tried it; and, what seems incredible to the people of Eastern States, our uplands are as fertile and easy of cultivation as the bottom lands of our streams. Our winters are at times severe, but our climate is eminently healthful. The wealth of a State is at last measured by its population, and I feel entirely safe in saying that no State in our Union of equal area can support from its own resources a population as large as can draw a bountiful living from our soil.

Senators and Representatives:—To you, for the time being, has been committed the grateful task of guarding and fostering the well-being of our State so far as the same may be affected by the law making power. Yours is a post of great honor and great responsibility. My predecessor has laid before you, in detail, such information as his position has enabled him to acquire and such recommendations as his judgment and experience have suggested to him. They will doubtless receive your careful consideration. Coming as I do, like yourselves, fresh from private life, and having no means of procuring information not open to all of you as to the condition and wants of the state, it cannot reasonably be expected that I shall bring to your notice questions other than those of the most general interest, or that I shall discuss them except in the most general way.

The subject of general education has been, and must continue to be one of great interest. The intelligence of our people measures, to a large extent, the wisdom of the laws under which we live, and also of

the administration of those laws. It likewise, to a great degree, measures the rapidity of our growth in wealth, for the reason that all pursuits which yield wealth are productive in proportion to the degree of intelligence with which they are managed. Aside from these obvious and powerful reasons for providing the means of education for all the youth of the State, there is another reason, less obvious perhaps, but certainly important. Our population comes from all parts of our own country and from almost all the nations of Europe, and all are alike welcome. Many of those of foreign birth come to us in mature years, with their manners and customs, their habits and sentiments, formed and fixed by the surroundings of their childhood and youth. It cannot be expected that they will, to any great degree, change their own for our manners and customs, our habits and sentiments; but it may be expected, and it is certainly desirable, that their children and our children shall so far as possible be combined into one mass with manners, customs, habits, and sentiments, partaking perhaps to some extent of the characteristics of the different nationalities, but alike, and in the main American. The common school, bringing together the children of the native-born and foreign-born in the same school-room, engaging them together in the same studies, mingling them together in the same sports and pastimes, will be a potent means to bring about the desired result, and to make of all our nationalities one people.

Fears have of late been freely expressed in certain States, and to some extent in our own, that it is a settled purpose with some to divert the school-fund from its legitimate object, and use it, at least partially, for the maintenance of private and sectarian schools, and thus eventually to destroy the school system. I hope this is a groundless fear, or, that if such purpose has been entertained, it will be abandoned. Presistence in it will certainly place those engaged in it in direct hostility to the settled and cherished policy of the State, and it is worthy their grave consideration whether they shall assume that attitude. It belongs to you to inquire whether any ground exists for the fears I have indicated as subsisting; and if so, to do what may be needed to guard against any probable or possible danger.

It is found to be a part of the criminal law of the State that a person convicted of crime, after a fair and impartial trial in the proper court, may have his conviction set aside because of some informality or irregularity in the formation of the grand jury by which the indictment against him was presented. I consider this a serious defect in our criminal law, and recommend that the statute be so changed that upon the impaneling of grand juries the proper officers shall certify of record to the regularity of all the proceedings, and that such certificate shall be conclusive.

I also recommend to your careful consideration the question whether

it would not be wise to repeal the provisions of the criminal law which require that the evidence given before the grand jury, on which an indictment has been found, with the names of the witnesses giving it, and also the names of any other witnesses the attorney for the State may intend to produce on the trial, with the substance of the evidence expected from each, shall be furnished to the party accused before trial. I do not think such provisions necessary for the protection of an innocent person accused of crime, and I am confident they are often the means by which guilty parties escape conviction and punishment.

The question of cheap transportation is one of great importance to our people. Our surplus products are generally bulky and heavy in proportion to their value, and the cost of transportation makes a large percentage of the price we receive for them. Before the advent of railroads all the internal transportation and travel of the country was done on common highways, turnpikes, navigable rivers and canals. All these were open to all. Any person could place on the land-lines his wagon, or on the water-lines his boat, and engage in the business of carrying persons and property. Since the building of railroads all this is changed. Now a large part of the internal transportation, and substantially all the travel, of the country are done by rail, and undoubtedly better done and more speedily than by the old method. But with the new system another important change has been brought about. Combination has taken the place of competition. No one is allowed to engage in carrying persons and property over the railroads except those who own or lease the lines; while those who own or lease what should be, and what were intended to be competing lines, by combining among themselves, destroy competition. The result is, that unless the people can in some way prevent it, the companies controlling the main through lines of railroad have it in their power to fix the price of carrying persons and property at just such sum as, in their own judgment of what is to their own interest, seems to them proper. To-day, four gentlemen in Chicago, representing the four through lines of railroad from that city to the Missouri river, can, at their own will and pleasure, add to or take from the value of every bushel of grain and of every head of live stock in the State of Iowa. The same condition of affairs obtains in Chicago with the four main lines leading to Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York.

This state of things, the knowledge that this power was claimed and exercised by the railroad companies, has for a few years past challenged the close attention of the country; and legislation has been invoked to protect the people from the abuses and extortions practiced by these corporations. At the last session of the General Assembly of this State, a law was passed intended to limit and control, to some extent, the privileges and powers of railroad companies.

The purpose of this law is to fix rates, beyond which they shall not charge for carrying passengers and freight; but, as I understand, the law was only designed to operate within the limits of our own State, because it has been supposed the State has not the power to limit or control the charges for carrying outside the State limits.

The States of Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota have passed similar laws. In this State some of the railroad companies have promptly complied with the requirements of the law. Others have resisted it and carried the matter into the United States courts, claiming that the State has not the power to limit, even within its own boundary, their charges as carriers, and similar suits have been brought in the other States named.

These suits have been in all cases, I believe, decided in favor of the validity of the State law—certainly so in this State—and are now pending for final decision and soon to be decided in the Supreme Court of the United States.

The law of this State must of necessity have been to a great extent experimental. The subject was a new one; it involved many difficult questions and much of detail. I recommend to you a careful examination of the law in the light of the experience of its effects since its adoption. If you shall find that in any of its provisions it works unjustly and unfairly to the railroad companies, or that it fails to afford to the people that degree of protection to which they are fairly and justly entitled, such defects should be remedied. I do not recommend the repeal of the law. On the contrary, I advocate its retention on our statute books with such amendments as your wisdom may suggest as calculated to do justice, both to the people and to the railroad companies. I also recommend to you a careful examination of the question whether you cannot by law prevent the combination among what should be competing lines, to which I have already alluded.

I also recommend the appointment of a Board of Railroad Commissioners, whose duty, among other things, it shall be to collect and lay before the General Assembly at each regular session such information in regard to the railroads of the State as will enable future General Assemblies to act with reference to them with a knowledge of many particulars that cannot be otherwise obtained. I think it important that the question of the power of the States to limit the charges of railroad companies within their respective boundaries, and the power of Congress to limit such charges on inter-State trade, shall be settled by the Supreme Court of the United States, so that, in case this power shall be held to reside in the State and National authorities respectively, we may go on and perfect such legislation as may be found necessary and proper for ourselves, and the Federal Congress be urged to exercise its authority in the prevention of abuses in the great carrying trade of the country.

Various modes have been suggested by which the public interest can be protected in this regard, if it shall be found we cannot do so by statutory enactment. Among these, the opening up, by the General Government, of lines of water communication through the country, and the building of one or more trunk lines of freight railroads, the use of which shall be open to all, have been advocated. Either of these plans would involve the expenditure of more money than our government is now well prepared to spend. But, if in no other way the end can be gained, this difficulty will be overcome.

Let us examine this question in all its parts, calmly and carefully, without passion and without prejudice. Our people are not hostile to railroads or railroad companies. On the contrary, we appreciate fully and concede freely the great benefits our State has gained from these works, and we have always contributed freely of our means to their prosecution. We know, too, that our future prosperity depends largely upon their maintenance and success. But, to the claim of their managers that they, like other business men, must be allowed to manage their business affairs in their own way, without interference or dictation by the State, we answer: First, that their business so directly and vitally affects the interest of every citizen, that it is the duty of the State to see to it that the privileges granted to them for the public good, and the power they claim to have, are not abused to the public injury; and, second, that they do not manage their business affairs in the same way as other business men do. I think I am safe in saying that if the managers of these roads will, in fact and in good faith, abandon the system of combination, if the companies will depend for success, as other business enterprises do, upon the skill and courtesy of their agents, upon the facilities they offer for the transaction of their business, and upon the cheapness with which they can do it, they will find active and earnest friendship instead of jealousy and hostility, and that in their case, as in all others, the right way to do anything is the best way to do it.

When, twelve years ago, I retired from the office the duties of which I am again about to assume, our country was convulsed by civil war, brought on by the most causeless rebellion the world has ever known. That struggle has happily ended, and the difficult and delicate task of restoring to their proper places the States and the people who sought the overthrow of our government has been accomplished. The bitterness and angry feeling caused by that conflict have in a great measure subsided, and it is the part of wisdom not to revive them. But we must not forget that in that terrible contest there was a right side and a wrong side; that either we who fought for the preservation of the Union were right and they who fought for its destruction were wrong; or that they were right and we were wrong; and we should see to it that when we have passed away those who will follow us in the

care and control of the government, which at so great cost we have saved and bequeathed to them, shall have from us at least correct teaching on that point. We should so shape our course and conduct as to show them unmistakably that we knew and recognized the distinction between loyalty and treason, that we loved the one and hated the other, that one brought honor, the other disgrace. We should make sure, so far as we can make sure, that their reverence and love shall be given to Lincoln and Grant and Sherman and Thomas and Sheridan, and not to Davis and Lee and Johnson and Beauregard and Forrest. To do this we must show them that our love and honor are given to the men who, in council and in action, labored for the preservation of the Union, and not for those who plotted and fought for its destruction. I have some times feared that in our extreme desire for peace and conciliation we have failed to keep this consideration properly in view.

The political situation at the seat of our National Government is at this time interesting and peculiar. The political party which administered the government during the rebellion and succeeded in suppressing that rebellion still control one branch of the National Legislature. The other, the popular branch, the House of Representatives, is controlled by a party of which men who were actual and active rebels compose a powerful minority, if not a controlling majority.

The centennial year of our national existence will be made remarkably by a determined struggle for the control of our government in all its political branches by a party composed of those who a few years since used every effort to destroy it and of those who during the struggle for its preservation opposed all effort to preserve it. This condition of things furnishes food for grave reflection.

The financial condition of the country is not so favorable as we could desire, but perhaps as much as we can reasonably expect. We borrowed during the civil war, and in consequence of it, nearly or quite three thousand millions of dollars, and spent the money, as all nations must in war times, lavishly. A million or more of men in both armies were withdrawn from productive pursuits and were engaged in consuming and destroying the products of the labor of those not in the field. The government bought our products with bonds and paper money at high prices, and we had during the war, and for a short time after its close, what many of us called good times, but our then good times were good only in the sense that an individual would have good times who should mortgage his property heavily and spend the money in extravagant living. The money raised by us on our national mortgage was spent rapidly and lavishly. We received for it, it is true, that boon of priceless value, a restored Union; but did not secure anything of marketable money value. In the latter sense the money spent was lost. The so-called good times caused extravagance in expenditure

by the national government, by the State and municipal governments, and by ourselves individually. When at last the time came that the money was spent, that our soldiers returned to their homes and became producers instead of consumers, that the government was no longer the purchaser of our surplus products and we were obliged to commence the process of paying instead of continuing the more easy one of spending—the times began to grow hard. The first interest to feel the pressure was that of agriculture, the leading one of our State. Our surplus products, increased by the labor of our returned soldiers, and no longer needed for the support of our armies, had to seek a market abroad, and their value there was measured by the standard of the world's currency—coin.

The consequence was a great and rapid decline in the prices of all we had to sell. The prices of all we had to buy did not decrease in proportion. The manufacturers and others undertook the hopeless task of keeping the prices of their products and their labor above a proper relation to the prices of our products, and for a time succeeded. The result to us was at first disastrous; but the evil worked out its own cure. Our ability to buy was limited by the amount we received for our surplus products, and by the prices we had to pay for the goods we wished to purchase. We necessarily bought less, and the manufacturers found themselves compelled to carry large stocks of unsold goods. Slowly but surely the laws of trade asserted their power. The prices of what we wished to buy, in most cases, fell to a proper proportion to the prices of what we had to sell, in some cases below that proportion, and the pressure upon us was lightened and transferred to those not engaged in agricultural pursuits. As we were the first to suffer so we have been the first to get relief. We are doing reasonably well—our State is fairly prosperous; God has blessed our labors with fair returns; we buy at fair prices what we need, and get fair prices for what we sell. The process of adjusting the business of the country to the changed order of things is going on gradually and steadily, and if that process shall not be disturbed we may soon confidently expect renewed activity and prosperity throughout the land. Some of our people, remembering the era of apparent prosperity caused by the war prices, are disposed to establish another such era by placing a second mortgage on the national farm in a new and abundant issue of paper money. This would, in my judgment, be a great misfortune. It might, for a short time, produce a feverish activity and a temporary advance in prices, but this activity would be unhealthy and disastrous, and as surely as day and night follow each other, so surely the inevitable result must ensue, and we would soon be called upon to endure again the troubles from which we are now so happily emerging. It seems to me the course we should pursue is plain and clear. We owe a heavy national

debt. That debt was incurred for a most worthy object which has been happily effected. As honest men we must pay it. To that end we must practice industry, thrift and economy, for the reason that by these means, and these means only, can we prosper. We must insist upon strict and rigid economy in administering the affairs of the national government, and of our state government, and we must practice the same economy in our private affairs. This is the way, a sure way, and the only way to certain and permanent prosperity.

Senators and Representatives:—Much of your legislative work will, under the constitution, begin to have force and effect with the republic's new century. Let us be inspired by this consideration to make our actions worthy of the illustrious following in which we find ourselves. The America and the Iowa of to-day tell how well those who have gone before us have done their part in the council, in the field, on the farm, in the mine, on the bench of the mechanic, and in the mart of trade. But to do as well as they have done, we must do better. With the benefit of their experience as well as that of all the ages before them, in the fruition of their labors which they themselves were not permitted to enjoy, in a day of superior intellectual light, we must do our work. While our opportunity is enlarged, our responsibility is vastly increased. How we use that opportunity, and how we meet that responsibility, will be best judged by those who will stand in our places in the years to come; and if we may look so far forward as to the end of another century of American history let us hope that he who will then stand in my stead in the palace now rising on the fair hill that overlooks the beautiful capital of Iowa, shall say of us that we honestly tried to do all our duty, and the people's acclaim shall be, "They did it well."

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

On the 2nd day of December, 1872, R. D. Arthur was sent to the penitentiary for the term of ten years, from Fayette county, for the crime of "larceny from a building in the night time." After serving three years of his term, the Governor was repeatedly and persistently importuned by his mother and sisters to grant him a pardon. The Governor not knowing whether his brief incarceration had been of a sufficient reformatory character to make of him a good citizen, finally yielded to the oft repeated requests of the mother and sisters, but made the pardon a conditional one.

The first condition was abstinence from the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage.

Second.—The use of all proper exertion for the support of his mother and sister.

Third.—That he should not be guilty of the violation of any of the criminal laws of the State.

By the terms of the pardon, the Governor was also to be the sole judge of the violation of these conditions. The pardon was signed by Arthur, with the stipulation that he accepted all the conditions, and became liable to be re-arrested and imprisoned for the full term, if any one condition was violated.

These conditions were violated by the prisoner becoming repeatedly intoxicated, and by various minor criminal acts on his part.

Under this state of facts Arthur was re-arrested upon a warrant issued by the Governor, and was recommitted to the penitentiary.

After the recommitment Arthur sued out a writ of Habeas Corpus, by virtue of which he was brought before the District Court of Lee county to test the legality of the second imprisonment.

Two points were raised on demurrer to the writ: One that the Governor could not grant a conditional pardon. The other that the violations of the conditions could only be determined by judicial investigation, and not by the Governor himself.

The District Court held that the points were well taken, and discharged the prisoner.

An appeal from this decision was taken to the Supreme Court, and on this appeal the decision of the court below was reversed.

Thus the Governor was fully sustained in his action by the Supreme Court, and this case has become a leading one, and has been relied upon by all subsequent Governors in granting conditional pardons.

At the session of the Legislature in 1876 a United States

Senator was to be chosen. Among the Republican aspirants for the place were James Harlan, Hiram Price, W. W. Belknap, G. W. McCrary and S. J. Kirkwood, five very able, honest men of ripe experience in public affairs, any one of whom would honor the place. The contest for the position was the greatest between Mr. Harlan and Gov. Kirkwood, and Mr. Harlan had a stronger following than any one of the five except the Governor. While it was in progress a letter was received from Gov. Grimes, who favored Kirkwood's election, which it was supposed would advance the chances of Kirkwood and disparage those of Mr. Harlan. A conference of the friends of the Governor was called to determine whether it should be used for that purpose, and they unanimously said "use it." Replying to them, Governor K. said: "The letter shall not be used for that purpose. I have never pulled down a man in my own party for the purpose of building myself up, and I will not do it now. If I rise and succeed, I rise and win on my own merits."

Before the meeting of the joint convention for the election Mr. Harlan's name was withdrawn, when in the Republican caucus Governor K. got a majority of two over all his competitors.

Within five days of his inauguration as a third term Governor, he was elected to serve his second term as United States Senator, but as he would not take his seat as a Senator before a year from the following fourth of March, he served a little more than one-half of his third term as Governor before he resigned that office.

The election for Senator took place on Wednesday, and the Governor returned to his home in Iowa City on Saturday, and in the meantime preparations had been made by his neighbors, without respect to party, to give him a warm and generous reception. Lyon's band of twenty pieces volunteered their services for the occasion, and accompanied

the reception committee to the depot, where they awaited the arrival of the train. When the train neared the depot one gun was fired, and the band played "Hail to the Chief," and amid the buzzas of the crowd the Governor alighted and was immediately conveyed to a carriage and driven to the St. James Hotel. A senatorial salute of fifteen guns was fired while the party was in transit from the depot to the hotel. After supper the Governor was conducted by the reception committee to Ham's Hall, where an immense crowd awaited him, hundreds being unable to gain admittance. His entrance to the hall was the signal for the wildest demonstration of applause, and after the noise and confusion had subsided, Hon. L. B. Patterson, a life-long Democrat, who presided, advanced on the platform and with a few appropriate remarks introduced Prof. W. G. Hammond, of the Law School, who addressed Gov. Kirkwood as follows :

"Honored Sir.—Our and your neighbors without distinction of party, have gathered together to welcome you, and have selected me as their spokesman to express in feeble language their love and esteem for you. It is our peculiar privilege to love and honor you as a friend and neighbor. [Applause.] Your past record is a record of noble opportunities, nobly improved. The fact that, after ten years of absence from political life, they have called you to the highest office the State can confer, is a distinction of which I find no parallel in our annals. [Applause.] We have seen five competitors, of whom it is safe to say, no one would have dishonored the office. We have seen months of struggle ended by a few days of partisan activity; we have seen the representatives of the people meet without having given pledges to fill this high Senatorial office; and finally among the men able, and pure and worthy, we have seen the ablest, and purest and worthiest elected. [Applause.] It is a grand thing to be the representative of the State, washed by the rivers which are the two greatest arteries of the Republic, and within whose borders are one and a half million of freemen, a State which is destined to be the keystone of the arch which sustains the liberties of the nation. We rejoice that there will be in the Senate ONE heart that will not quail, and ONE voice that will ever be raised for the right.

"However long the time may be before the people permit you to retire from public life, may there be for you the reward of a well spent life, and when the end of life shall come, may your last glance

fall as it does to-night, upon the friends who honor and respect you."

At the conclusion of Prof. Hammond's eloquent address of welcome, Gov. Kirkwood arose and was received with vociferous cheers which continued several minutes. When order was restored the Governor, who seemed much affected by this spontaneous demonstration of his neighbors, said:

"*Mr. President, Respected Friends and Neighbors*:—I suspected from a despatch received yesterday, and I learned by a newspaper I read on the train, that I was to have a reception here to-night. I should be dull and insensate if I did not appreciate the honor done me by the people of the State of Iowa. As you all know, the people, contrary to my wishes, elected me Governor, and recently the party to which I belong have elected me to the Senate. I have lived in Iowa City twenty-one years, and I love, as you all do the city in which we live. We all feel as we ought to, the friendship which gives greeting to one who has drawn a prize in the Lottery of Life. I will promise, and that is all I have ever promised, that in the discharge of my duties, I will do the best that I can, and if what I shall do will meet your approval when done I shall feel fully rewarded."

When the Governor concluded his remarks there was another enthusiastic outburst of applause, and when quiet was again restored, loud calls were made for Hon. Rush Clark, who was enthusiastically received. He made a few congratulatory remarks and was followed by Hon. E. Clark, Senator Ruple of Iowa County, and Hon. R. S. Finkbine.

In taking his seat as Senator from Iowa, in the Forty-sixth Congress, in the formation of committees he was placed on the Committees on Foreign Relations, Post Offices and Post Roads, and afterwards made a member of the Committee on Pensions.

Before the meeting of the Congress to which he was elected, Jas. G. Blaine then a member of the Senate, being in Des Moines, in company with Hon. R. S. Finkbine, and inquiring of that gentleman what kind of a Senator Governor Kirkwood would make, got this reply :

"Some day when you will least expect it, and when a matter is before the Senate involving a constitutional question, he will get up

apparently without any previous preparation, and in a speech of no great length, will discuss that question and present every point so clearly, illustrating it so aptly, and reach his conclusions so directly that you will all wonder why you have not taken the same view of the subject that he does, and have reached his conclusions before by the same chain of reasoning."

After the delivery in the Senate of his speech on the Army Appropriation Bill by Governor K., on the 21st of June, 1879, these two gentlemen, meeting each other in Washington, Mr. Blaine, said to Mr. Finkbine: "Your prediction in regard to Gov. Kirkwood has been verified. The constitutional question has arisen. The speech has been made. His solution of the question was the true one, and was so considered by all his political friends, and it has been adopted by them."

This question was the tangled skein of the extent and limitation of the powers and rights of the States and General Government, which such men as Clay, Webster, Calhoun and Benton wore their finger nails off trying to untangle without satisfaction to themselves or friends, but which Gov. Kirkwood unraveled and straightened out to the comprehension of all. This is the speech: (It was to us, and will go down to posterity as the best exposition of the relations of the States and National Government to each other ever made.)

SPEECH OF HON. SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, having under consideration the bill making appropriations for the support of the army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, and for other purposes—

MR. KIRKWOOD said:

Mr. President:—I propose with the indulgence of the Senate, to consume a short time in discussing the question that I apprehend to be involved in the amendment under consideration. That amendment raises the question under what circumstances, if any, the Government of the United States can use its troops to keep the peace at the polls on the occasion of electing Representatives in Congress. That is the question; and that question, in my judgment, depends upon the answer to another question, which is this: Is there any valid law of Congress which on election day may be obstructed, may be hindered in its execu-

tion, may be resisted by force and violence at the polls? If that be so, then not only, in my judgment, can the Government of the United States use the army to put down that resistance, but it is its bounden duty so to do. That we have a law on the statute-book regulating elections for Representatives in Congress no man will deny. We know that, if we knew it in no other way, from the efforts made at this session to repeal that law.

But it has been suggested that that law is not a constitutional law, and, therefore, not binding. I will examine that question briefly. If it is proper to call the position held by a Representative in Congress an office and him an officer, then I say that the office of Representative in Congress is an office of the United States and not of the State. The Representative is a United States officer and not a State officer. The Constitution of the United States creates the office. Until that instrument was formed there was no such office. The office is not created by the State from which the representative comes; it is the creation of the United States. The Constitution of the United States says who may hold the office; the State constitution cannot say anything touching that question. The Constitution of the United States says who may vote for the officer, fixing a qualification, to which the State cannot add, and from which it cannot take. The Constitution of the United States prescribes how the compensation for the officer shall be ascertained, by the action of Congress and not by the action of the State from which he comes; and when the amount of his compensation has been ascertained, it is drawn from the Treasury of the United States and not from the treasury of the State. He has certain powers given to him, certain duties are imposed upon him. They all arise under the Constitution of the United States, and not under the constitution of the State. When he is elected he brings to the House in which he claims a seat a certificate from the governor of the State from which he comes, which certificate gives him a *prima facie* right, as it is termed; but whether he is entitled to hold it or not depends, not upon the action of his State, but upon the decision of the House of which he claims to be a member. Certain privileges are conferred upon him by the Constitution of the United States solely, not by the State from which he comes. When he has been elected and taken his seat, he may be expelled from that seat without asking the leave or permission of the State from which he comes.

He is an officer of the United States, then, if it is proper to apply that term to the position. It seems to me that any one examining our Constitution and seeking to learn its meaning, having ascertained that much in regard to these officers, would naturally look into the same instrument to see whether or not there was any provision made there as to the manner in which these officers should be chosen. He would do that. Why? Because it is peculiarly appropriate, I think; because

it seems to be in accordance with the eternal fitness of things that every government should determine the manner in which its own agents shall be selected. Looking at our Constitution, then, with that end in view, we find that there is a provision made there upon that subject; and that provision is substantially this: The States shall, in the first place, prescribe the times, places, and manner in which Representatives in Congress shall be elected. That the people who formed our Constitution said for themselves, but they said in addition that at any time the Congress representing the United States might make such regulations or might alter such as it found to exist.

Now, it seems to me that certain propositions are too plain for argument. One of them is this: Whatever power the States have on this subject, is given to them by the Constitution of the United States, and whatever power the States have by that instrument, is reserved to be exercised by the United States whenever the United States shall so choose to exercise it. There cannot be any dispute about this. Let me make an illustration: Suppose that when we meet on the 1st day of December next we are here without rules for our government; we cannot transact business; we raise a Committee on Rules, and say by resolution that they shall prepare rules for the government of this body in order to the orderly transaction of its business; but the Senate may at any time make or alter such rules. Is not the power reserved to the Senate just as broad as the power conferred upon the committee? Must it not be so necessarily? And when the people of the United States wrote in their Constitution that the States might regulate the times, places, and manner of voting in these elections, but the Congress might at any time make or alter those regulations, they did precisely what I have supposed in the case of making rules for the Senate by a committee of the body.

If this be so, then it follows that the Congress of the United States has the right to place upon our statute-books laws regulating the manner of the election of Representatives in Congress. They have done so. Some fault is found with some of the details of that law. It is said in regard to the deputy marshals that we have too many of them. That may be true; but what remedy do our Democratic statesmen propose? To abolish the office of deputy marshal; not to reduce the number but to abolish the office totally. It is said that the compensation of those officers is too high. That may be; but the remedy proposed, again by Democratic statesmanship, is not to reduce the compensation, but to abolish the office. Some people think that our compensation here is too high. I do not believe it is; but I never heard the wildest reformer yet propose as a remedy that the office of Senator in Congress, if it be an office, should be abolished. It would be more difficult still, I think, to get the approval of that remedy than it would the approval of the remedy of a reduction of compensation.

Again, gentlemen say in regard to these deputy marshals that they are not men of good character. It may be; there may be bad and improper men among them; it would be strange if there were not. It has been said that bad men get in here sometimes. The old remedy comes back; and our Democratic friends insist that the cure for the fact that some bad men have been selected is not to make precautions that better men may be selected in the future, but that the office shall be abolished. Is there not a dearth of statesmanship in our Democratic friends when they have but the one remedy for all evils. I remember (it has been so long since that I may have forgotten very much about it), in reading the good old novel of Don Quixote, perhaps; there was a doctor in it, Dr. Sangrado, who had one cure for all diseases, and but one. I seem to me our Democratic friends have been reading that book a little and have fallen into the ideas entertained by him.

MR. DAVIS, of Illinois—It was in Gil Blas.

MR. KIRKWOOD—I had forgotten; I have been so busy for a great many years that I have not had the opportunity of indulging in general reading to the extent that I should like to have done.

Last Sunday I bought a copy of the New York Herald, and I propose to read a few extracts from an editorial contained in that paper:

"Within about a fortnight we have had to report on an average two cases a day either of assault by the police upon citizens in their houses or in the streets, or of the arraignment of policemen before justices on charges of assault or personal outrages of an even graver nature. Upon trivial differences within the limit of the rights of the people it is dangerous to exchange a word with a policeman."

This of course refers to the policemen of the city of New York.

MR. HILL, of Georgia—You are not reading that against us of the South now?

MR. KIRKWOOD—I will make the application after awhile. The article from which I quote proceeds:

"Not only is it perilous to bandy words with these guardians of the public peace, but the citizen who does not quietly submit to invasions of his domicile, is in a fair way to get to the nearest hospital in a cart.

In a tenement-house row an officer came upon the scene in the passage on the level of the street, presumably to pacify the row. He was saluted with unpleasant language from an upper window. Immediately his duty was forgotten. The dispute which had brought him to the scene became suddenly trivial in his eyes and unworthy attention. He mounted the stairs and clubbed the poor creature above, so that he now lies in a bad way with a leg in splints. But this person had been guilty of no breach of the peace and was in his own house. No act had been committed that would in any circumstance have justified his arrest. Only the dignity of the policeman had been offended, and that must be revenged at any cost. And that is a type of the dealings of the police with these people. The average policeman is simply a champion bully, ready to enforce with his club, not order, but the recognition of his personal supremacy on his beat."

Here is a little more from the same editorial:

"It is shown by the trial of the Manhattan Bank robbers that honesty is regarded as of so little account on the police, that theft does not disqualify a man for holding a place. An officer is now in custody on the charge that he was an accomplice of those robbers, and if this is true it is the fourth robbery in which he is believed to have been concerned, as the police authorities know. He was a gambler before he went on the police, and as he was found out by one captain after another in his various exploits, what was done with him? He was removed each time to some other precinct where the captain did not know him."

Here is another extract:

"Some time ago a couple of detectives were caught in predatory operations also, and they were not dismissed either. They were made roundsmen."

I do not know what that term means.

MR. CONKLING—Patrolmen, walking around.

MR. KIRKWOOD—And it concludes:

"So that this is a part of the system."

And now for the application. If it be true that there is found occasionally upon a police force improper men, dishonest men, brutal men, is that a good cause for abolishing the police? Has it ever occurred to the authorities or the people of New York City to abolish the whole number of policemen in that city? That is the remedy our Democratic friends insist upon in regard to the deputy marshals, that because some of them have been ascertained to be improper persons, therefore the whole body shall be abolished. But I do not think the good people of the city of New York, because bad men get upon the police force of that city, would be willing to abolish the police force of the city. If the things that are alleged here in regard to the police of the city of New York be true, and if things equally as bad were proven to be true in regard to these deputy marshals, how the eloquence of the Senator from Indiana [MR. VOORHEES] would be heard in this Chamber denouncing the brutality of intrusting the keeping of the peace at the polls to such men. And yet it is precisely to such men as have charge of the preservation of the peace in the city of New York that the Democrats desire to submit wholly the elections. This is outside of my line of argument, however.

A very pertinent question was asked by the Senator from South Carolina [MR. HAMPTON] a few days ago. I do not see him in his seat, and yet I will refer to the matter, because it involves nothing but what can be referred to either in his presence or in his absence. He made the statement that until within a few years last past, Congress had never exercised the power to regulate the manner in which these elections shall be held; and he asked the pertinent question why now it should be done. He was not entirely accurate I think in his statement. A good many years ago, how long I cannot remember, but before the Republican party had an existence, Congress commenced

the work of regulating the manner of the election of members of Congress. For many years, when I was a much younger man than I am now, some of the States of this Union elected their members of Congress by general ticket, and they continued in that practice until Congress, believing it to be a bad practice, remedied it by providing that the elections should be held by single districts and not by general ticket.

MR. HILL, of Georgia—That was in 1842, I think.

MR. KIRKWOOD—I had forgotten the date, but it was long ago. But the question still recurs what reason was there why this custom that had prevailed so long should not be allowed to continue? It strikes me that there are two good and sufficient reasons why it should be so. There are in the city of New York about one-third as many people as the entire population of the original thirteen States at the time we achieved our independence. There are, I apprehend, in half a dozen of our large cities as great a number of people as the entire population of the old thirteen colonies was at that time. While this brings advantages, it brings disadvantages also with it. As wealth is concentrated in the hands of comparatively few in our large cities, and ease and luxury and all the accompaniments of wealth go with wealth, it also happens that vice grows as well. I do not pretend to give from official data what I am about to say, but I believe I am correct in saying that there are to-day in the city of New York more professional criminals—and by that I mean men who make their living by the commission of crime as their business—than the entire population of that city contained at the time our independence was achieved; and the same holds largely true as to all our large cities. This is a condition of affairs that did not exist when the custom that is so much honored now, about leaving the elections solely to the States, originated. In many localities in these large cities four-fifths of the voting population are men with whom no gentleman who hears me would trust either life or property if he thought either could be taken from him without detection. A different system is required, a different supervision is required, different care is required in dealing with such men than was required in dealing with the men who gave their votes at the time when our Government was formed. That is one reason.

Another reason is that, as a consequence of the civil war through which we passed, the war of the rebellion, some four million people who were formerly slaves are now free men. That has produced and must for years to come produce difficulty, trouble, trial, hardship in the communities where this great change has occurred. It could not be otherwise, unless we could change human nature, and we cannot do that. The men who were formerly masters will not consent, if by any means they can avoid it, to be ruled by the men who were formerly their slaves. This produces a condition of things there that does

require supervision not merely by those who live there and of the master race, but by others as well ; so that I contend there is good cause for saying to-day that the old system that obtained for so many years should be changed and a different and, we hope, a better system substituted for it.

But to come back, if I am correct in holding that Congress has the right to make an election law and that the laws on that subject upon our statute-book are constitutional, then the question arises—what power has Congress to enforce its own law ? Must it depend upon some other power, some other authority, or must it rely upon its own power and its own authority to carry into effect and put down opposition and resistance to the laws of its own enactment ? I have no doubt upon that subject, Mr. President. A government that cannot do that is an incomplete and an inefficient government, as much so as a human being who is born with one leg or with one arm, or who is born blind or mute or dumb, is an incomplete person. A government that has to rely upon something else than itself, upon some power other than its own to enforce its own law, is not a government; and if ours is such the sooner we abandon it and substitute for it something better, the better for it and for us.

Let me make myself understood now. There is a great deal of talk about the Government of the United States interfering in the States to keep the peace. Nobody claims that it has the right to do that ordinarily; but it is claimed that whenever a constitutional law is passed by Congress it goes of its own power, not by favor, not by permission from anybody, but of its own constitutional vigor it goes through the whole length and breadth of our land and attaches to and becomes part, so to speak, of every inch of our soil.

That is my theory. It attaches not only to the soil but to every man living upon it, unless by special provision he is a foreigner representing his own country here as an ambassador, or in some such way is exempted from its operation. I care not where it may be, wherever that law of this Government goes the agents of this Government to enforce it have the right to go, again not by favor, not by permission, but because the law has gone before them and opened the way for them. They ask no permission of any man, or of any State, or of any power. They ask no power of any man, or of any State, or of any authority. They go by the same power and authority that the law itself goes, and when those engaged in the administration of the law, the power of this Government, civil and military, the power of forty-five millions of people stands with them, above them, below them, behind them, around them, to guard and protect them against any and all power that may oppose them in the lawful execution of that law.

Let me make the distinction, Two years ago it happened that in

the city of Pittsburgh, in the State of Pennsylvania, there occurred a great riot. For many days, I do not know how many, all traffic and travel was suspended. Immense amounts of property were destroyed. People from the State in which I live beyond the Mississippi River wished to go to New York. They could not go there by that route. They had property being transported from one State to the other, but it could not reach its destination by that route, and the United States Government could not help them. Why? Because there was not what there should be, there was no law of Congress protecting interstate trade. I hope to see the day in my time here when we shall have such a law. Therefore, the question whether our people should travel through Pennsylvania, or whether their goods should go through Pennsylvania, depended not upon the Government of the United States but upon the government of the State of Pennsylvania, and the Government of the United States in that regard could not interfere until called upon by the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania to aid him in putting down the riot so as to let people again travel through the State and traffic again be carried on.

But while that is true, it is also true on the other hand that there were laws of the United States at that time that were obstructed and resisted; laws providing for the transportation of the mails were upon our statute-book. My belief is that just as soon as it became apparent to the President of the United States that the local authorities were insufficient to protect the mails of the United States in being carried over those roads, it was not only his privilege but it was his duty to see to it that the local authorities, the civil authorities of the Government being inefficient to protect the carrying of the mails of the United States and the enforcement of the United States' laws for their protection—it was his business to see to it that the Army of the United States was sent there, and that every man found resisting the transmission of the mails in accordance with law, obstructing their transmission, should be swept out of the way.

MR. MAXEY—Will the Senator yield to me a moment?

MR. KIRKWOOD—Certainly.

MR. MAXEY—I want to understand the proposition of the Senator from Iowa on this point. Does the Senator mean to say to the Senate that the United States could have sent an army to Pittsburgh without a legislative call if the Legislature of Pennsylvania were in session, or an executive call in the absence of the Legislature, under the fourth section of the fourth article of the Constitution, outside of that article, independent of that article? Does the Senator mean to say the Army could have been sent there independent of that?

MR. KIRKWOOD—Certainly I do.

MR. MAXEY—I merely wanted to understand the Senator.

MR. KIRKWOOD—If that is not true, then the question whether the

laws of the United States shall be enforced depends not upon the Government of the United States but upon the government of Pennsylvania.

MR. MAXEY—The point I wanted to make, I will state to the Senator from Iowa, was this: That the Federal Government has no power except that which is granted upon the face of the Constitution. The mode and manner in which a riot can be stopped in a State is laid down in the Constitution, and the point at which the power of the Federal Government can be brought into exercise to suppress a riot or an insurrection is laid down on the face of the Constitution in the fourth section of the fourth article, and nowhere else. That being the case, and the only case, in which the Federal troops can be called out upon a demand by the Legislature, if it be in session, or if it cannot be convened, then by the State executive, can the United States Government, *ex mero motu*, send its troops there without a call from the Legislature or the executive of the State when the Legislature is not in session?

MR. KIRKWOOD—Clearly in my judgment it can, and I have been trying to explain why I think so. I have said that if there had been no law of the United States resisted there, no violent, forcible opposition to the laws of the United States there, nothing but a breach of the peace of the State of Pennsylvania there, of course the Army could not be sent there until invited by the authorities of the State of Pennsylvania; but whenever in the State of Pennsylvania or in any other State (this is my theory, I do not pretend to speak for anybody other than myself; I have no authority to do so) the laws of the United States are resisted and overborne, then the Government of the United States has power to use the whole force of this nation to enforce them.

MR. MAXEY—I want to understand the Senator. I do not interrupt him for any other purpose.

MR. KIRKWOOD—Of course not.

MR. MAXEY—Does not the Constitution point out how the Government of the United States is to be advised of the fact that the suppression of an insurrection is beyond the power of a State to suppress it? Can the United States bring its strong hand down upon the State until the State calls for aid in the mode pointed out by the Constitution? That is the point upon which I want to understand the Senator.

MR. KIRKWOOD—The provision to which the Senator from Texas alludes is the provision for the protection of a State and the enforcement of the peace of the State. It has nothing to do with the laws of the United States; it has nothing to do with their enforcement or their execution. It is when the laws of the State of Pennsylvania cannot be enforced by the authority of the State of Pennsylvania that the State

of Pennsylvania has the right to call upon the President of the United States to enforce her own laws in her own limits. It does not touch the question of the execution of the laws of the United States.

MR. MAXEY—Then, if the Senator will pardon me, I understand his position to be, and I want to understand it, that the laws of the United States are required to be exercised within the limits of the State; that a law itself, in *proprio vigore*, goes along with it; and if it is necessary for the Army to enforce that law, that too goes along with it.

MR. KIRKWOOD—Certainly it does go with that law.

MR. MAXEY—There I differ with the Senator, so far as that is concerned.

MR. KIRKWOOD—Take the case cited by the Senator from Virginia a few days ago, of an election in his State that caused some excitement and feeling in that State, I apprehend. It will illustrate my idea. As I said before, it is only my idea; it binds nobody but myself; it may be totally wrong, but I believe it to be right. In the spring of a certain year, I do not remember the year, an election was held in Petersburg, Virginia. What year was that?

MR. ALLISON—In 1876.

MR. KIRKWOOD—In the spring of that year an election was held for local officers or State officers, I do not remember which.

MR. WITHERS—For municipal officers merely.

MR. KIRKWOOD—The United States had nothing to do with that. It affected the State of Virginia only and solely. It was the business of the State of Virginia to maintain peace at the polls on the day of the election; but if the State of Virginia should be unable to maintain the peace on that day, if not occurred, if the State laws were resisted, then Virginia had the right to call upon the President of the United States, to do what? To send troops there to aid Virginia in enforcing her own laws in her own limits. But afterward, during the same year, there was an election to occur there at which there was a member of Congress to be elected, and then the law of the United States prescribing rules for the election of members of Congress was in force at that place in Virginia just as much as at the preceding spring the laws of the State in regard to the election of municipal officers had been in force there. When the President was informed, upon information on which he relied, that there was danger that the Federal laws were then to be resisted there, he did a wise and a prudent thing in sending troops, not to go to the polls, but in case a collision occurred for them to be there in case the State could not enforce the law and keep the peace, to see to it that the United States power was there to enforce the United States' law there as well as every place else.

I wish to say a few words more on this subject, Mr. President,

When I first read this bill before its passage in the other House, I said, in consultation or rather in conversation with some of my colleagues from my State in the House that I thought the section of the bill upon which this debate proceeds was a mere excrescence on the bill itself, an impertinence, so to speak, meaning no disrespect to those who favor the section. It was just as senseless, in my judgment, as if it had provided that no part of the appropriation should be used to pay the Army if the Army were used as a professional base-ball club or a traveling circus or a Pinafore company; because I had never heard it claimed by any one, Democrat or Republican, that it was intended by the Government of the United States to send men to the polls to take the place of police officers, bailiffs, and constables there.

Let me illustrate again my meaning, sir. We have in the State in which I live courts of the United States; we have doorkeepers and bailiffs, and I do not know what other officers to execute the mandates of the courts, marshals among others. I never understood anybody to claim that we ought to turn these men out of office and place an armed soldier carrying a musket with a bayonet at the door to act as doorkeeper, and another beside the judges on the bench as their bailiff, and other armed soldiers all through the building to do the duties ordinarily performed by marshals and their deputies. I never understood that to be claimed by anyone, but I did understand it to be claimed that if an armed force of rioters should go into the court house in the State of Iowa, and imperil the execution of the laws of the United States there so as to interfere with the orderly administration of justice by the United States officers, and the civil authorities there were not sufficient to put down that violence, then the President could call from San Francisco or New York, or elsewhere, wherever there may be a regiment or a company of troops, all the armed force necessary to see to it that peace and law and good order shall be maintained about the buildings, and that the men who are charged there with the enforcement and execution of the laws of the United States, just as everywhere else where they are so charged, shall be allowed to proceed in an orderly and a quiet way to do it, and that all the men who are disposed to obstruct must get out of the way.

Mr. President, I come to the main cause of my troubling the Senate upon this occasion, a thing that I very seldom do. I want to find out what our Democratic friends mean by this bill. I have repeated here what I said to my colleagues in the other House. I was bound to do so. The respect of those gentlemen is of value to me, and my own respect is of more value to me than their respect, and having said it to them I was bound to let any man who chooses to inquire about it know that I had done so. Now I want to know just precisely what is the meaning of this section. It was claimed by some gentlemen, it was believed by myself, that the only meaning of it was, that when election day

comes around the President shall not surround any of the polls in the city of New York, for example, with armed soldiers, so that the men who go there to exercise the right to vote shall not be compelled to pass through files of armed soldiers. I supposed that to be the meaning of it, and aside from its impertinence I saw no harm in it, because no man ever claimed that troops could be used for that purpose, so far as my knowledge went, or that they should be used to make the arrests ordinarily made by policemen there. No man ever claimed that. It was only when disturbance and violence occurred and the peace officers could not put it down that the United States with its armed soldiers in aid of the civil officers should put down that disturbance and violence on the day when members of Congress were being elected, under the laws of the United States.

Now I say, in all kindness and all frankness, it is not for the Senate of the United States to pass a law, the meaning of which is shown to be doubtful. Am I right? Is it a becoming thing in this body, said to be the most dignified, deliberative body in the world—ah, well we will continue to say so—is it becoming in this body, when the fact is brought to its attention, that upon the face of a bill pending before it for action, uncertainty, doubt, dispute exists as to what is the true meaning of that bill, that it shall not be made clear? Is it just to ourselves that we should allow that doubt to continue? Is it just to other departments of the government that we should allow that doubt to continue? Is it just to the people of this country that we should allow that doubt to continue and perhaps cause further strife and confusion and bitterness through the length and breadth of our land? Does it not become us as honest men, as intelligent men, does it not become us as Senators, to remove all doubt as to what the meaning of this thing is, and say whether it means that the troops shall not go the polls on election day to exercise the duties commonly performed by ordinary policemen, or whether it is intended to say that the United States troops shall not go there, when the ordinary civil power is insufficient to protect the people at the polls, to furnish that protection?

That is one question to be determined by the Senate, Mr. President, and if Senators will not inform us by speeches of what they understand this language to mean, we, on this side, have the privilege of testing them in the way of amendments, and I apprehend that unless they pursue the policy we did a night or two ago and fail to vote, we shall get to know just what they mean before this bill is safely passed.

There is another matter I propose to notice, and I shall be very brief. At various times, when political excitement ran somewhat high during the session, I had made up my mind that I would make a political speech. I was saved the necessity of doing so by having it done by gentlemen much abler than myself to do it. But there is one thing to which I wish to allude in a single remark. Much has been said here

about the desire of the Republican party to revive the bitter feelings engendered by the war for political purposes in the North. It has been said by gentlemen, not from the South perhaps as much as by gentlemen from the North, upon the other side of the Chamber that the people of the North, the Republicans of the North especially, hate the people of the South. Mr. President, that is not true. They do not either hate them or fear them. I speak the latter word in the worst sense of the term. They wish the prosperity of the people of the South as well as they do of any other section of our country. They wish that prosperity because the people of the South are part of our great family, and if you will not believe that we wish you prosperity for that reason, then believe it for a worse, lower, more selfish reason. We have common sense enough to know that your prosperity is the prosperity of the country of which we are a part. Give us credit for selfishness at least, if for nothing else but that. We do desire your prosperity, and we know, we think we know, that that is to be obtained on the sole condition of peace, quiet and good order among you.

There has been within the last three months considerable feeling, and there is to-day in the North, more than there was six months ago. In my judgment we on this side of the Chamber are more responsible for it. The people of Iowa (and I can speak for them, I think, having had a long acquaintance with them) love the union of these States. They sacrificed much to perpetuate it. It is with us not merely a matter of sentiment, but a matter of necessity. We raise a large surplus of produce that must go abroad, and I tell you we do not intend to ask any man's leave to go abroad with it if we can help it. We want to go through New York. We are perfectly willing to go there and shake hands with that people and deal with them, but we do not ask their permission to go through New York to Liverpool with our produce. The good city of New Orleans is at the mouth of the Mississippi river. We send some—I wish we sent more—of our products abroad through that city; and I say to the Senators from the State of Louisiana, we do not intend to ask anybody's permission to go down the Mississippi river and out of the mouth of that river just where we please. They foolishly attempted to obstruct the navigation of that river a few years ago, and we wrestled with them about it for a long time until we got it cleared out, and we intend to keep it open. We want to go to China. We do not want to ask the permission of men living on the Pacific slope whether we may go through their country to go there.

We are bound, as I said, not only by sentiment but by necessity, to the maintenance of this Union; but we have doubts and fears and distrust in regard to its perpetuity since we had the struggle for its perpetuation. Senators say (and I am bound to take their statements as true) that they are now as warmly attached to this Union as we are.

I cannot dispute that question with them; but the preservation of this Union depends somewhat upon the strength of this Government. The complaint I have to make, and the complaint that is working its way all through the northern country, is that there is a steady and persistent effort in every direction and in every way to weaken this Government, to tear off a power here, a power there, and a power elsewhere, one by one, session after session, year after year, until you would leave it incapable of its own preservation.

We passed a law, assented to by myself with much distrust, a year ago containing the *posse comitatus* clause. I said nothing about it, because gentlemen to whose judgment I am in the habit of deferring here thought it best to let it go. I wish it were back again. Bills have been laid upon our desks here that we shall have to act upon some day, taking, as I understand, from the courts of the United States the power to declare whether or not the officers of the United States in the execution of their duties have violated the laws. An effort is being made during this extra session to deprive the people of the United States of the power of supervising the election of their Representatives at the other end of the Capitol. This bill is here to-day either meaning nothing or meaning that in the conduct and management of the election of officers of the United States the people of the United States shall have nothing to do, traveling surely, slowly, sapping one by one as we think the powers necessary to enable this government to maintain itself.

During the pendency of the yellow-fever bill, so called, I went to the desk of the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Harris) to look at a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, and in looking through it I found what I wish to read to the Senate. It expresses much better than I can, much more clearly than I can, my opinion, and it comes from a source that carries with it infinitely more power and authority than anything I can say. I will read the concluding paragraph in the opinion of Chief Justice Marshall in the case of *Gibbons vs. Ogden*.

Powerful and ingenious minds, taking, as postulates, that the powers expressly granted to the government of the Union are to be contracted by construction into the narrowest possible compass and that the original powers of the States are retained, if any possible construction will retain them, may, by a course of well-digested but refined and metaphysical reasoning founded on these premises, explain away the Constitution of our country and leave it a magnificent structure, indeed, to look at, but totally unfit for use. They may so entangle and perplex the understanding as to obscure principles which were before thought quite plain and induce doubts where, if the mind were to pursue its own course, none would be perceived. In such a case it is peculiarly necessary to recur to safe and fundamental principles to sustain those principles, and when sustained to make them the tests of the arguments to be examined.—9 *Wheaton's Reports*, 222.

The people of our Northern States are afraid that that process is going on to-day. They are afraid that the results of that process will be precisely such as are herein written and that I have read. It is because of that feeling, because they fear that in the future the time may come that that which has cost them so much to maintain may be lost. I tell you kindly and frankly they intend to see to it carefully, earnestly, prudently, that that result shall not follow. And now when our Democratic friends—I hate to use the term in this Chamber—when our friends on the other side of the Chamber shall have explained by their votes, if they will not explain otherwise, whether this section 6 that was, and section 5 that is now, is a mere excrescence, a mere wart, so to speak, on this bill, a senseless impertinence—meaning no offense to anyone—when they shall have explained to us by their votes whether that is the case, or whether it means that much larger and greater thing, that in no case shall the government of the United States have power to enforce election laws anywhere and everywhere in the limits of our country, I shall be prepared to cast my vote.

In following Mr. Kirkwood, Senator Hill, of Georgia, said :

“*Mr. President* :—I rise to say a few words only. First of all I want to express to the Senator from Iowa, Mr. Kirkwood, the great gratification I have felt in listening to his speech. He has made an able, dignified and excellent speech, worthy of a Senator anywhere, and in any age. If all the speeches made on this floor were made in the same spirit, and with the same clearness and patriotic temper which the Senator has exhibited, I think what he intimated as doubtful would never be doubtful again, and that is, whether this is a dignified body. But I do not agree to all the doctrines of the Senator, and I want to call his attention, for he is an able lawyer—my friend shakes his head; yes, he is a good lawyer; I know from the way he talks; he cannot deceive me on that subject. I want to call his attention to the fact that he has made one mistake in the fundamental proposition on which he set out. * * * I want my friend to know, and I want his people to know, that the patriotic, the manly, the Catholic, the national, the unsectional sentiments which fell from his lips, and which I know animate his bosom, meet with a warm and hearty response in mine, and in the bosoms of my people. He, and such as he, whether Republicans or Democrats, we can take to our arms and our hearts and call our fellow citizens.”

A private letter from a prominent gentleman in Washington to the Editor of the *Republican* contains the following:

“I am glad to see the Iowa papers speak so well of Senator Kirk-

wood's speech. It richly deserves all that has been said in its favor. I was fortunate enough to hear most of it. When I entered the Senate Mr. Kirkwood was on the floor just getting fairly under way in his speech. He looked every inch a Senator, yet as modest as a child. He had a full house, the galleries were crowded, and there were many on the floor of the Senate, including a large number of members of the House who had come in to hear the speech. Every one listened with close attention. His manner was excellent, and the matter speaks for itself. I think the speech displays great ability in more respects than one. It is clear and logical, comprehensive and conclusive. It will give full satisfaction to his own party. It presents the Republican side with ability and distinctness. * * * There is no man in the Senate that could have done as well as Kirkwood did. You have read Ben Hill's remarks immediately following Kirkwood. Hill's manner showed that he meant what he said, and it was no idle compliment. That evening Conklin referred to Kirkwood's speech, in very complimentary terms, saying it was the most effective speech made during the session. I heard a number of Senators speak of it in private, and all spoke of it in the highest terms. Don Cameron said, 'The Old Man always talks good sense.'

The New York *Tribune* says :

"By universal consent, it is pronounced a gem of legal and political oratory. It is rarely the case that senatorial compliments mean anything at all, but when at the end of Governor Kirkwood's speech to-day, Senator Hill rose, and in unstinted terms of praise commended the matter and manner of the speech, every listener, and there were many of them, mentally said, 'That is true.' He is one of the most amiable men in Congress, and is universally respected for his unswerving integrity of character."

The Dubuque *Herald*, a Democratic paper, after the delivery and publication of the speech, has this to say :

"Senator Kirkwood has been making an excellent record of himself during the present session of Congress. He has figured conspicuously on all important questions, his opinions have invariably been clear, vigorous and timely, and he is astonishing his constituents by an unexpected display of statesmanship. We candidly confess that the opinion hitherto expressed by the *Telegraph*, that the Senator's age had impaired his usefulness, was premature. He is really one of the most valuable members of the Senate—always in his seat at the proper time, always taking an active interest in whatever question may be under consideration, and always cheerfully and faithfully performing whatever committee work may be assigned him. Though he has been in the Senate but little more than half a term, he has

achieved a remarkable prominence, and is daily developing qualities that promise ere long to place him in the first rank of legislators."

Senator Beck said of it :

"It was the best speech that had been made by a Republican Senator."

It even created a deep impression in the South. The Rome, Georgia, *Tribune* said of it :

"We do not know when we have read a speech with more pleasure than we did that delivered by Governor Kirkwood in the Senate on the 20th ult. * * * It is characteristic of the man and his conservatism. The speech was delivered in the interest of the country, and not party, and hence it went to the people as a part of the regular proceedings, and not in a supplement for campaign uses. It was as modest as it was patriotic—a standard which we can commend to all as the proper test of merit. * * * We would be glad to lay the speech before our readers, not that we agree with the Senator upon his propositions, but to show how manly he has treated the subject. There is much in his arguments which we oppose, and much from which we differ, but the difference is an honest one, and we feel that such a difference can be tolerated by an honest man."



CHAPTER XVII.

Death of Hon. Rush Clark—Gov. Kirkwood's Speech in the Senate on the Occasion—Kirkwood and Vance—Speeches in Indiana in 1880—Plain Talk to the Business Men of Indianapolis—Estimate of Gov. K. as a Stump Speaker.

On the 28th of April the member of the House of Representatives in Congress from Gov. Kirkwood's own district, died very suddenly, and proceedings relating to his death were held in both Houses. Among the addresses on that occasion was the following by Senator Kirkwood:

Mr. President:—Other senators have spoken fully of Rush Clark in the relations he bore to the public whom he had served as a lawyer and a legislator. It becomes me by reason of my more intimate personal acquaintance with him, to speak of him as he was known to those who like myself, had the pleasure and the advantage of frequent, close and friendly intercourse with him.

He represented in the Forty-fifth Congress, and until his death, in the Forty-sixth Congress, the Congressional district in which I live. I was one of his constituents; he was my fellow-townsmen, my neighbor, and I am glad to be able to say, my friend. He was by some two years an older resident of our young State than myself. When I went to reside in Iowa City in 1855, I found him there a young man and a young lawyer, struggling for and gradually winning by his knowledge of the law, his close attention to his business, his energy and his perseverance, that high rank in his profession to which he afterwards attained. When he came to Iowa his capital, or as we sometimes express it in our quaint western way, his "outfit" was his head, his heart, and his hands; a clear head, a stout heart, and willing hands.

After closing his collegiate life in Pennsylvania, he judged, as I think wisely, that there was a better chance for him to win his way in the battle of life in the new, broad, free west, than in the older, more crowded, and I trust I may say without offense, less liberal older States. He knew well that the journey of life for him was not to be an easy, pleasant travel over a broad, smooth highway, but a tedious and painful progress, over a rough and rugged path, every foot of which was to be made by his own labor and perseverance. He did not quail at the prospect, but went to work manfully and persistently.

He met as such men most always do meet many obstacles in his way; but he met them boldly, overcame them, and left them behind him, monuments of his energy and courage.

Before his death these qualities had brought him to where his pathway was broader and smoother, and the outlook for his future more bright and cheering. And then he died; died in the prime of life, died of overwork; died of the earnest and exhausting labor he gave to the interests of his country and his constituents, which was greater than his physical powers, never strong, could endure.

My colleague has told of the different honorable positions held by Mr. Clark, by the favor of those among whom he lived and how he performed the duties attached to them. He held at one time a position, not by election, but by my appointment; that brought us into close and cordial relations. I had the honor to hold during the first three years of our civil war, the war of the rebellion, as it is in my judgment properly called, the office of Governor of the loyal State of Iowa, and thereby was charged with the duty of raising and organizing the volunteers called for from that State for the preservation of the Union. I needed, to aid me in that work the services of some bright, earnest, energetic, active young men. Mr. Clark was one of them; my colleague (W. B. Allison), (I trust he will pardon me,) was another. Largely by their aid and the aid of others, associated with them in giving form and direction to the patriotism of our young men, the quota of Iowa's soldiers was always full; and I must be allowed to say in this presence, where men who fought on the same side with them, and men who fought against them, no better or braver soldiers fought under either flag in that unhappy strife.

As a citizen, Rush Clark was orderly, law-abiding and public-spirited; as a neighbor, kind, generous and helpful; as a friend, true and trusty; as a husband and father, kind, loving and devoted.

The scene on the arrival of his remains at his home showed the estimation in which he was held by his neighbors, those who knew him best, and to whom his sudden death had given a great and painful shock. It was late at night when the train carrying his corpse reached our quiet town, and yet the depot and the street between that and his home were filled by his friends and neighbors, who came to testify by their presence, their respect for him and their sorrow for his loss, and who on the next day followed him to our quiet cemetery, where his mortal remains, "rest in peace."

When we look about us and see death choosing his victims, we sometimes wonder why the idler is left, and the active, earnest worker is called away; why those in the pride and vigor of their manhood are taken, and those who are older and perhaps weary of life are permitted to remain. We do not know why; we know that God who does all things well, so wills it, and we bow in submission to His will. We

only know that he to whose memory we do honor to-day, has gone before us to learn the mysteries of that other life in which we all believe, as to which many fear so much, and as to which all hope so much and know so little.

If it be true, as many believe, that the best service we can render here to the Great Father of all, is to give strength to the weak and help to the helpless of His children, then my friend has done his proper work well.

If it be true, as many believe, that in the other life we shall be assigned to do the work for which our mental and moral development here has best fitted us, then my friend there will be given important work to do.

If it be true, as many believe, and it is becoming very pleasant for me so to believe, that in the other life we shall know and enjoy the society of those we knew and loved here, then my friend who has gone before is enjoying pleasant communings in his new home, and waits with patient longing the coming of those whom he loved and left behind.

After the entrance of Gov. Kirkwood upon his duties as Secretary of the Interior, when stories in regard to him were in order, Gov. Vance, of North Carolina, made his contribution to them as follows:

‘When two years since I made my maiden speech in the Senate, I was particularly gratified by the respectful attention paid by all the Senators, and made what I thought, and what my friends afterwards assured me, was a good speech. The principal theme upon which I dwelt was the acquisition of territory under Democratic administrations, and upon this I laid great stress. At the conclusion Senators crowded about to congratulate me, and among others came Kirkwood, of Iowa, who shaking my hand heartily said: ‘Well, Governor, you made a pretty good speech; I used to be a Democrat myself, used to talk about the acquisition of territory by the Democrats; but if it had not been your maiden speech I should have taken the liberty to ask you a question.’ ‘Well why didn’t you do it, Kirkwood, I have no doubt I should have been glad to reply. What was it?’ ‘Why,’ replied Senator Kirkwood, ‘it was this: When you were talking about the great acquisition of territory by the Democrats, I wanted to ask you, if it had not been for us ‘Black Republicans,’ if you Democrats wouldn’t have taken out a great deal more territory than you brought in?’ ‘Kirkwood,’ I replied, ‘if you had cut me off at the legs that way, I should have wanted to shoot you on the spot.’

In the presidential canvass of 1880. Indiana was regarded as a pivotal State, and the best speakers in the Republican ranks were sent there to do some heavy work. Among them

Judge Nourse and Mr. Kirkwood, from Iowa, spent some three weeks on the stump in that State. The following are a couple of speeches delivered by Mr. K. in Indianapolis at different times:

Being introduced by General Coburn as ex-Governor, and present United States Senator, from Iowa, after loud and continuous cheering, Mr. Kirkwood said:

I have been engaged for some five weeks past, three weeks in my own State, and two weeks in this State, in speaking to audiences, and desired to rest to-day. But as you desire me to speak I will detain you for a short time. I think I would not have spoken at all were it not for an occurrence that happened yesterday. I was at the neighboring town of Green Castle addressing a very large audience, and there was put into my hands a handbill relating to the question of the tariff. It purported to be a letter, or a card published by Mr. Goldback, president of the Jeffersonville Glass Works. You may know him. I do not. He is a Democrat and a supporter of General Hancock. He appears to have become aroused by the very apparent objection on the part of a great many people to a further endorsement of the Democratic party, because of its position on the tariff question. This handbill to which I refer has been circulated very extensively at Republican meetings in the southern part of the State, and the writer gives his reasons for thinking that the manufacturing interests of the country will be at least as safe in the hands of the Democratic party, as in the hands of the Republican party. I will not read you all of it, but he says that

GENERAL HANCOCK IS A PENNSYLVANIAN

and that he will not do anything that will injure the iron, glass and other industrial interests of that great State. Now my friends, as I have said, I have been spending five weeks in the campaign, and have been during that time laboring to induce the American people not to vote for General Hancock, [cheers] but I have not said one reproachful word of him. I have never said anything to blacken his character or to degrade him in the eyes of the American people, and I do not intend to do so, although I do intend to speak all the time from now till the second of November endeavoring to defeat his election. [Loud cheers and cries of "So will all of us."] But I want to say this: If I believe what is contained in this bill to be true, I would have to say that he is an unfit man for an honorable man to vote for. [Cheers.] Let me explain why the representatives of the Democratic party met in convention at Cincinnati, and laid down the principles of the party. They nominated a president to carry out those principles. And what do they say upon the subject of the Tariff. They say they are in favor

of "Tariff for revenue only." They are not in favor of protection at all. Gen. Hancock accepted that nomination on the platform of that convention. If what this gentleman says is true, then it must also be true that Gen. Hancock accepted the nomination

INTENDING TO DECEIVE AND BETRAY

the very men upon whose votes he depends for election. [Loud cheers.] If that be true he is seeking the presidency under false pretenses, [renewed cheers] and I am here to defend him from that gross charge. It is not true; it can't be true, General Hancock is said to be an honorable man, and I know not to the contrary. And if he be an honorable man, he cannot mean to deceive and betray the very men by whose votes he will get into the presidential chair, if he ever gets there, [laughter] which I do not think will occur. [Cheers and voices "That's what we all think."] If what this gentleman says be true, and I am told that Hancock's friends through Indiana are saying the same thing, he ought to receive the votes of no men but policy peddlers, bunco dealers, and three card monte men. [Shouts of laughter and loud cheers.] The American people love fair play; they love pluck, they love courage, they love to have a man stand by his own colors, say just what he is and just what he means and means all that he says. [Cheers.] And I say again that I am here to defend General Hancock against the infamous charge that he

INTENDS TO DECEIVE AND BETRAY

the Democratic party. If you men are attached to a tariff for protection, and if you think that the declaration of the Democrats in convention against that tariff is wrong, then I think you ought not to go with him at all. [Cheers.] It is said the good Lord detests a liar and a coward. I believe He ought to detest both, and I am here before this audience, to defend before the American people, the fame and character of General Hancock against the gross charge which his political friends in Indiana make against him.

Now turning to another subject let me call your attention to the three ideas held in this country in regard to the constitutional powers of our government. One was that we are not a Nation, but a league of States, and that any State might go when it pleased; that was the southern Democratic doctrine. The northern wing of the Democratic church are not quite so well grounded in the faith. [Laughter.] They held that a State had no right to go, but that if it pleased to go the other States had no power to stop it from going. [Laughter and cheers.] The Republican party believed and still believes that this is a Nation, one Nation, one Nation and not thirty-eight Nations. [Cheers.] That this people is one people, not thirty-eight peoples. [Renewed cheers.] They believe that this government has the power and should have the power of preserving its life whenever that life is

threatened. They believe it should have the power to enforce its own laws throughout the length and breadth of our land. [Cheers.] These are the three theories: Now if the Republican party had held to the faith of either southern or northern Democracy you would not have any government to-day. If Lincoln and his advisers had been of the same opinion that Buchanan and his advisers were, and that there was no power in the government to save its own life and to save the Union, which was its life, then our southern friends would have gone unchecked and our Union would have been destroyed. [Cheers.] If there is a Democratic soldier here (a voice "There's not many of them around") I want to say to him when you went to the south, you fought for the Republican idea that this government had the power to save its own life. You announced your belief in that idea by

GOING DOWN SOUTH TO SHOOT MEN

who entertained the contrary belief. [Loud cheers.] How comes it you don't entertain the same belief now. You were fighting then for Republican principles. You believed them to be right, and just, and necessary. How comes it, I ask, that you now vote for the very reverse of the principles you then fought for? [Loud cheers.] It is not for me to say what the reason is. But, I tell you, I don't understand it. I live in the State of Iowa, where they have a Republican majority of 50,000, and

WE CAN'T UNDERSTAND

what is the matter with you Indiana people. [Laughter.] You have had the same advantages we have had. You have always had a free press, and free schools, and free speech. You have had all the advantages that we seemed to, all the people of this great Northwest and the Upper Mississippi River have had. Why should you be the only one of all these States: Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska—the very center of this great empire. Why is it that there is any doubt how you stand? Why is it that you will allow yourselves to be the tassel on the end of the tail of the Southern kite, to be laughed at by all of your neighbors around? [A number of voices "It is because we are too near Kentucky. They send us too many votes."] Well, now gentlemen it is time we were breaking up this meeting, and you were going away. [Voices, "No, no! go ahead! give'em thunder."] Well, as you want me to, I will consume a little more of your time. It is said of us Republicans that when we address audiences in the Northern States, we endeavor to excite their prejudice and keep alive the old feelings engendered by the war. In short, that we flaunt the bloody shirt. Now my friends I have a profound respect for the bloody shirt. [Loud cheers.] I sent to the field from my own State of Iowa, 50,000 as brave men as ever marched. Many of them wore the bloody shirt before they returned home. [Cheers.] Many

of them were buried in their bloody shirts, and never came home. I say that the bloody shirt to me symbolizes patriotism as pure, and devotion to duty as earnest, and courage as splendid as this world has ever seen. [Enthusiastic cheers.] I say to you I have seen men living and dead

WEARING THE BLOODY SHIRT,

the latchet of whose shoes no Northern man who sneers at it is worthy to unloose. [Renewed cheering.] I have a profound respect for it and I have a profound contempt for the spirit that will urge any Northern man to sneer at it. [Great applause.] If you want to know what it means, go around to every township in your county and you will find wives whose husbands and children and fathers wore the bloody shirt, and they will tell you that it means the highest service to the country by which the life of every citizen has been protected. They say we are endeavoring to keep alive the ill will and passions engendered by the rebellion. They say these men are as much attached to the Union and to the principles that hold it together as we are. I wish I could believe that. [Cheers.] Let me tell you something now, and you can test it for yourselves. It has happened that I have during the last few years traveled through a number of the Southern States, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana. I will tell you what I saw there; you can say whether I am right in my opinion. I saw in those States monuments built by the citizens in memory of men who died in the rebel army. In the city of Augusta, Georgia, there is a monument—the most beautiful I ever saw, in honor of Stonewall Jackson and Lee, and other confederate captains. It is covered over with inscriptions reciting the sacrifices and patriotism of the men in whose honor it was erected. During last year, while Congress was in session, a monument was dedicated in one of the counties of Virginia. I forget now what county it was, but it was not much more than gun shot from the city of Washington, in memory of men of Virginia from that county, who died in the rebel army, and upon it was inscribed that these men had died in defense of constitutional liberty. If that be true I want to know what you boys who went down there fought for. Again before the war, there was in the State of Virginia a university called by the name of Washington. Since the war they have changed that name. Now it is the University of Washington and—not Lincoln, oh no, but

WASHINGTON AND LEE,

Robert E. Lee, the great rebel captain, and he was a great captain. The name of Robert E. Lee, who did all he could to destroy this country is associated on terms of equality with that of George Washington. I am a native of the State of Maryland, I was born and brought up in that State. When I arrived at years of maturity and

good sense, I made up my mind that the best thing I could do was to go West and grow up with the country. But in Baltimore the leading city of my native State, the Common Council during the present year passed an ordinance appropriating out of the public treasury from the taxes collected from Republicans and Democrats, money to build a monument in one of their most public streets, in memory of the young men who went from Maryland, and in violation of their own principles that a man must stand by the State in which he lived, joined the rebel army, and died in the war, and nothing but the good sense of Mayor Latrobe prevented the scheme from being carried out, and the monument erected. Now I want to make one or two observations. The men who build these monuments and who associate Lee on terms of equality with Washington, believe in what they are doing, or else they are acting the most infamous lie ever imposed upon this country. They do believe those principles to be true and sacred and holy, and that these men died in that cause, and they teach their children and their children's children the same lesson that they learned, and they are handing down those teachings just as we are handing down the contrary. And if their young men are the legitimate sons of their fathers and not bastards; if they should be as brave as their fathers were and are; if they are men with red blood in their veins and not cowards, then it must be that when we, the men of this day, have passed away—and the time is short with some of us—when their children and our children become the men of action, then these men will strike for that holy cause for which their fathers died. I wish I could believe that these men are as truly attached to the Union as we are. I tell you it is my firm belief, I believe it in every fibre of my being, that the only true and safe course, the only manly course is to see to it that in our day, that for which our boys fought and died shall not be put to any unnecessary risk. [Loud and continued cheering.]

The following is the speech made at another time in the same place. Being introduced as a United States Senator from Iowa, Mr. Kirkwood said :

Your chairman has informed you rightly that I had no expectation of addressing an audience in Indianapolis to-night. At the request of some of your people I came into your State with a friend of mine, Judge Nourse, on Monday last, and we have been engaged chiefly in the rural districts in preaching the gospel of Republicanism as we Iowa people understand it. [Cheers.] I had no expectation of being here, or being here, of being called upon to address the Republicans of Indianapolis. But as I am here and have been called upon I must follow the Iowa rule of never shirking a duty, [cheers] and therefore will detain you briefly. This is stated to be a meeting of the business

men, and the working men of Indianapolis. In Iowa we consider the business men and the working men all one. They are all business men. Every man who earns a dollar by honest labor is a business man with us, and we think that the interests of the men who manage our mercantile institutions, and those who serve as mechanics should be and are alike. It is because we do this that we get along without much trouble in Iowa, as some of you perhaps know. [Laughter and cheers.] I will say a few words in regard to the present political contest and its relation to the business interests as I understand them. Whatever financial legislation we have had for the last twenty years, either during the war or since the war, has grown out of the war. The legislation we had during the war was mainly directed to raising money to carry it on; and what financial legislation we have had since the war, has been mainly directed to securing the payment of the debt contracted in carrying it on. [Cheers.] When we emerged from civil war, our debt was enormous; it was so large that I have often thought that if we northern people had known when we entered upon the enterprise of putting down the rebellion, that it would have cost so much in money, and so much in what was more valuable than money—I mean the lives of the people—we would have been afraid to have undertaken it. And then I have thought we ought to thank God we did not know. [Applause.] When we footed up the books after the war was over we owed \$3,000,000,000. Many men believed we could not pay it; many believed that this nation must necessarily become bankrupt. The Republican party at that time was charged with the administration of public affairs, and they felt that it was the duty of the people of this country to pay that debt, if it could be done. And they felt so for these reasons: Because there are always simple reasons underlying all great actions. We felt that we owed it to those who came to our relief in the hour of peril, that we should pay that debt. It seems to be a part of God's dealings with nations, that war should come to them, and those who have read history know that a large part of it is made up of the wars that different nations have been engaged in. To carry on a war, a protracted and exhausted war, money must be borrowed. To borrow money,

A NATION MUST HAVE CREDIT,

a good name. The men who were men of action before we became such, our fathers, boasted that our nation had a good name, and we were regarded the world over as an honest nation, as an honest people, because they had been so careful of us and for us. When our time of action came, we were enabled to go before the world as the honest sons of honest fathers. We said, "we are honest people, and if you will lend us money in this time of our great peril, we will pay, if it is possible for us to do so." We felt, the Republican Party felt, that the men of this day ought to do for their children and those who

come after them, what had been done, by our fathers for us, so that we might hand down to them the honor and the good name of this nation untouched and untarnished, as we received it from our fathers [Loud cheers.] This was one reason why we thought we ought to pay the debt. Another reason was because common honesty demanded it should be paid. We have gone upon this idea and have undertaken to pay it, and I think we have been moderately successful. [Cheers.] Already nearly one third of that debt is wiped out and gone—nearly one-third of the load of principal has been taken off our shoulders. [Cheers.] And the interest that in 1865 was nearly \$150,000,000, is now less than \$80,000,000. [Continued cheering.] I must not go over all that, because your patience would not allow it. But I have one or two remarks to make in regard to this debt, that should be impressed upon every audience to whom the subject is named. It is alleged against those who loaned us money when we needed it so badly that they

SPECULATED ON THE WANTS AND PERILS OF THE NATION.

In other words, that when they bought bonds, they did not pay for them their face value in coin. That is true. They sold at times as low as thirty-eight and forty cents, although the average price was a little over seventy cents. The price of the bonds went up and went down, just as the flag went up and went down. [Cheers.] When it looked as if the war must be a failure, our bonds were of a less value, and whenever we had a victory our bonds rose. Why did they not sell at their full value? Just because men had to take the risk that they never might be paid. If our government had gone down, I don't think these bonds would have been worth much more than our Democratic friends prophesied they would be, when they said that the bonds which the government was trying to sell would be only valuable to put on the walls of barber shops as ornaments. In talking with the people I have earned the right and used the right before I earned it, to say what I think, although it may not be altogether agreeable to those who hear me, I have a theory about public speaking. A speaker who is afraid or ashamed to say what he honestly thinks is true, provided he speaks in respectful language, is not worthy to be listened to. [Cheers.] An audience that cannot listen with patience to opinions that do not agree with their pre-conceived ideas, when those opinions are expressed in respectful language, is not worthy to be talked to. [Laughter and cheers.] Now I hear some men say that these men speculated upon the interests of the nation, and they call them a great many pet names, such as Shylocks, sharks and I don't know what else. [Laughter.]

What were you men doing during that same time, you farmers, merchants and mechanics of Indiana? Just what we people of Iowa—we loyal people of Iowa—were doing. You were selling your produc-

tions in prices based upon the currency, which were far above their intrinsic value in coin. How much was pork here in Indiana? Ten dollars a hundred? It was in Iowa. I know wheat sold at \$2.50 to \$3.00 per bushel. I know of one sound Democrat in my State who held his wheat for three years, and declared he would never sell it for those worthless bits of paper. It did the pulsations of my heart good when he had to sell it for \$1.50. [Loud laughter.] But were you speculating upon the interests of your country when that country was in peril? Why, no. You were simply doing an honest, fair, square thing when you took pay for your commodities in a circulating medium that might have become as worthless as the bonds; because if the Government bonds went down, the greenbacks would have gone down also. The men who took the bonds and who took the greenbacks, took with them the risk that they would get nothing for their money or their productions. [Cheers.] I never owned Government bonds in my life, and I never expect to, if I were able I would like to. [Laughter.] But it is one of the strangest phases in the strange panorama of American politics, that so many of the American people spend their strength in denouncing the men who sold your bonds and bought your bonds during the war, but who have no denunciation for the men, who by bringing on the rebellion, made it necessary to sell and hold the bonds. [Loud cheers.] But this is a business men's meeting, and not a political meeting, and I am afraid I am talking politics. [Laughter.] I want to go on with this matter a little further.

CERTAIN FINANCIAL MEASURES,

have produced certain results, and they are before the country. The leading measures were the public credit act of 1869, the refunding act of 1870, and the resumption act of 1875. All of these acts were passed by Congress, when the Republicans had control of both houses, and they were resisted by the Democratic party in Congress. Two years and four years ago the Democratic orators who traveled over our State, and I have no doubt it was the same in your State, foretold to the people of the country the enormous disasters that would come if these financial measures of the Republican party should be continued, and urging that some new management should be substituted for it. But the Republican party did not yield. It stood firmly, patiently, courageously against the storm of misrepresentation and abuse that was poured upon it. It stood there grandly, bravely and patiently, as during the war, believing it was right, and because it was right God would see that the right should triumph. [Cheers.] The American people love two things dearly—

FAIR PLAY AND PLUCK.

The financial policy was based upon fair play, which means honesty, and they showed a pluck and courage during that financial struggle

which entitles them to the confidence of the American people, instead of the prophecies of these political Jeremiahs being fulfilled; that which was prophesied and predicted by the Republican party has come true, and good times and prosperity have been brought back. Now that a good business period has come, what are you going to do about it? The question submitted to the American people is, if the Republican policy has produced these results, what have you to say about it? You business men, are you satisfied with things as they are? [Loud cries of "Yes, we are."] Then you should see to it that you give it your careful, earnest endorsement, and say that there should not be any change. I am told some of our Democratic friends say that there will be no change in the financial policy if they are allowed to control it. But I should like to know when they became converted to that theory. I have been told it often and often, and I think it is sound common sense, that it is not wise or prudent to put out a child to be nursed in the hands of those who think for some reason, it never ought to have been born [Laughter and applause], and who have always been prophesying while it lived that it would die soon. [Renewed laughter.] It is better to trust the nursing to those who think it had a right to be born, and being born, it has a right to live. [Loud cheers.] Now if this financial policy is to continue, leave it in the hands of

THE MEN WHO HAVE DEFENDED AND STOOD BY IT.

Is not this a common sense thing to do? If it is a good policy why take the power away from the men who have carried it out, and put in the hands of men who said it would bring disaster if it was established. Is there any common sense in that? It is for you business men to say. Some of you think you know more about business than other men. Perhaps you do and perhaps you don't. [Laughter.] But if you think it is safe, wise and prudent to entrust the carrying out of this policy to the hands of those who have always denounced it, until they wanted to get into office, then I think you do not exhibit that degree of common sense which business men ought to have. [Laughter and cheers.] If this policy is to be changed, what are you to have in the place of it? Does any man know? Has any man told you what will be substituted for it if it is to be changed? Then I again repeat the question, is it wise or prudent to abandon that which has brought you the present prosperity? I put this to the sharp, keen, shrewd judgment of the business men of Indianapolis. If this is not your view then I'm glad I don't live here. [Laughter and cheers.] Now I want to talk to you business men, to every man who is willing to earn an honest dollar by an honest day's work, and who is carrying on any business necessary to the well being of the vast society in which we live. Our Democratic friends say we talk too much about the financial policy having brought prosperity. They say it was not the financial management that did it, but it is because Providence chose to bring us good crops. That is so,

but they ought to argue fair. Two years ago and four years ago they told you that the hard times were the result of the financial mismanagement of the Republican party, and now when the nation has become prosperous, they say the financial policy had nothing to do with it. Is that fair?

THEY SAY PROVIDENCE DID IT.

Well, I have been in difficult circumstances several times in my life, and whenever I have felt that Providence was on my side, I had an abounding conviction that I should come out right. If it be true that Providence has interfered on our side, then the Democratic party might just as well give up the contest [laughter and loud cheers], because when the Republicans and Providence both fight against them, they will stand no chance. But take a hard, common sense view of this thing. Of course Republican legislation did not bring the country bad crops or good crops, but yet it had much to do with the present prosperity. No mechanic or farmer can work with bad tools. So the business of this great country cannot be done without a sound dollar, and a sound dollar has come because you have got honest money, and it is because we have given the people of this country that kind of money that the workshops have been re-opened, and the fires have been re-lighted, and everything has gone on well. If you are sensible men, you will let things alone and will run no risk about it. A few words more and I will relieve you. It is said with a great deal of confidence, and many men believe it, that this country is about to be turned over to the party that is controlled to-day, and will be by the men who tried to destroy the government. I don't believe that, but we don't know what is in the future. We Republicans, however, will have this consolation, if we do turn it over, our successors will find it in far better condition than it was when we received it twenty years ago. [Cheers.]

Then, the temple of our Union "was shattered," to use the language of a member of Congress from Virginia before the war, "from turret to foundation stone." We have since cemented it with the blood of our best men, and it stands to-day as strong as ever, glorious and exceedingly beautiful. When we received it we had two flags in it—the stars and stripes, "old glory," you know, and another that they called the stars and bars. To-day thank God we have but

ONE FLAG ALL OVER OUR LAND.

[Applause.] A flag dishonored and disrespected by too large a portion of our people, but honored, loved and respected and adored by all the rest. We have done another thing during the time we have had possession of the government. We have worked a miracle, and the only modern miracle that I know anything about. We have converted four millions of chattels into four millions of people, and that flag that

waves so proudly to-day does not wave over a slave. The credit of our nation that was, as you were told by Mr. Smith, so poor during the last Democratic administration that we had to submit to a shave of eleven cents on the dollar when selling our sixes of 1861; the credit of that government, that fifteen years ago was thought to be bankrupt, is to-day higher and brighter and stronger than that of any government on God's earth. [Applause.] Its four per cent. bonds to-day bear in the money market of the world a premium of from nine to ten per cent. That difference exists between the government as it will be, if we have to turn it over, and as it was when we received it. And there is another difference. When we got it, the liberty-loving men throughout the world looked upon it with pity and sorrow, because they thought the Great Republic was going down, and that the experiment being tried here, whether men were capable of self-government or not, was to be decided against their ability to maintain self-government. Men in the Old World, and all through the world, who believed that men were not capable of self-government, men who believed in monarchical government and not in free government, gloated over the idea that the Republic was going down and the experiment being made whether men are capable of self-government, was a failure. If we shall have to hand this government over to-day, we shall hand it over when liberty-loving people throughout the whole length and breadth of this land, and all the liberty-loving people of the world are looking up to it again as a beacon light and exemplar, when it is teaching every nation of the world that free governments among men are a reality [applause], and when all liberty-loving people in all liberty-loving lands are learning from us the lesson that governments "of the people, by the people and for the people" still exists, and may exist in all the nations of the earth. [Applause.] We will have the consolation of knowing, if we have to turn it over, that it is in a better condition than when we got it.

I must make another remark. Mr. Smith has said to you that if the Republican party is turned out of the control of the administration of your affairs, and the Democratic party succeeded,

THE SOUTHERN WING OF THAT PARTY WILL CONTROL

the policy of that party. Does any man doubt that? I think that no man of my age can doubt it. It has been so continuously. They have always dictated the policy and the candidates of the party, and the northern wing of the party have submitted, sometimes cheerfully, and sometimes not so cheerfully, but they have always submitted. When the southern wing of the party took snuff, the northern wing always duly sneezed. [Applause.] When the southern wing whistled the northern wing came and barked at whatever and whoever they were told to bark at. Has not that been so? Why is it so? It is because the men of those States are men of stronger, of sterner determination

than our northern Democratic politicians are. They control the policy of their party to-day in both houses of Congress. If Gen. Hancock should become President of the United States he will have to go with them, submit to them, and be guided by their policy. He will have to submit to the fate of John Tyler and Andy Johnson, and make his administration a failure, by being compelled to rely upon the men who refused to vote for him after abandoning the men that did vote for him. I was talking on this subject not long ago in my own State with a hard-headed, sharp-witted Scotchman—a great many Scotchmen are that kind of men, hard-headed and keen-witted—who was an ardent Republican, and in talking of this unfortunate subserviency of the northern Democracy to the southern Democracy, he said to me, "Governor,"—they call me that in Iowa—"President Lincoln made one grand mistake." I reflected a moment, and could not think what he meant and asked him. "Why," said he, "President Lincoln, when he issued his emancipation proclamation freeing the blacks from their southern masters, ought to have included the northern Democracy as well." [Laughter and applause].

Now look here, you business men proper, you who attend to stores, banks and law offices and affairs of that kind, let me say a word to you. I have been a lawyer and have been vexed in the State in which I live by hearing such men say,

"I DON'T CARE ANYTHING ABOUT POLITICS,"

"We have no time to attend to politics," and all that sort of thing. It is because having a good deal to do with them, that I have the opinion that I am now about to express, and that is that a man who has no time to attend to political affairs and who does not attend to them, is not a good citizen, and does not do his duty, and don't deserve to have a good government, if he cannot take time to take some part in administering it. And now, you business men—excuse me for talking so freely, it's a habit I have—see to it that between this and election day something is done that you can do, each man of you. Not anything unfair, not anything dishonest, but all that is fair, all that is honest in effecting that which you believe to be and know to be essential to the welfare of your country, and therefore essential to your own welfare. And now, good night. [Long and continued applause].

A correspondent of the New York *Herald*, writing from Indiana during this canvass, describing the different orators imported there by the two parties, the list containing most of the noted stump speakers of the country, says, of the "homely, old pet and pride of Iowa:"

"One of the choicest products of the American school of oratory is Gov. Kirkwood of Iowa. Quaint in appearance, unique in thought,

and abundant in droll stories, he carries a crowd with him inevitably. I don't know how much he costs, but he is worth every cent of it."

During the senatorial contest in 1882 that resulted in the election of Mr. J. F. Wilson, and in which Gov. Kirkwood was urged as a candidate by his friends, but which he refused to become, an Indiana correspondent of the *State Register*, writes:

"If the Iowa Republicans will send Senator Kirkwood over to Hoosierdom, they will continue him in his senatorial career without a skip, in recognition of his signal service in the last campaign, he being the most effective foreign stumper that spoke in that memorable campaign—making the most conversions."



CHAPTER XVIII.

*Speech on Decoration Day, 1884—Address at the State Fair, 1882—
At the Linn County Fair in 1884—His Estimate of Iowa—Political
Speech at Cedar Rapids in the Evening.*

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN, HAD THE SOUTH SUCCEEDED.

On Decoration Day, in 1884, Gov. Kirkwood being one of the speakers, said:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—We are here to-day in accordance with an honored custom, to express our reverence for the memory of the dead, and our gratitude to the living; to those who, in the fierce struggle our nation had a few years ago for its existence, saved it. It sometimes seems to me that we do not realize the value of what they did; that we do not realize what in all human possibility would have followed, if instead of triumphing in that contest, we had been defeated. Hoping that it may, and if anything can add to our feeling of honor for our dead and living soldiers, let me ask you to do this: Take a map of our broad country and trace in imagination a line across where would have been our southern line to-day, if the rebellion had succeeded. Have you ever tried it? Commence on the Atlantic coast. The most that we could have asked in the case of our defeat would have been to commence at the mouth of the Potomac River or Chesapeake Bay, across to the Ohio River and so down to the Mississippi. When we get there I don't know whether we would have gone up stream or down stream, we might have stopped there, or gone over to the southern border of Kansas, or on to the Pacific, but we could not dictate if we had been unsuccessful. It would have been for the successful to dictate, and for us to accept, and they might not have been willing to have accorded so much of what is now our common country. Take it at what I apprehend would have been the very best, and what would have been the consequence? Beyond this dividing line would have been an embittered, hostile and angry population. Our southern brethren with all of their friends, and they are many, have their faults and we have ours. They are somewhat arrogant and over-bearing, and they would have had no kindly feelings towards those who had come to wrest from them their every right. We on our side would have felt deeply grieved that our country was dismembered, and our nation destroyed, our government perhaps lost. Again, our northern brethren did not and do not yet entertain the same views in regard to our reve-

nue system that the northern people do. They are more free traders than we are here. We would have had to establish custom houses to prevent smuggling from one side to the other side. What more? If we had failed and they had won, then slavery would have existed in all their portion of our country, and men whom God made as He made us, would have been sold as cattle in the market to-day. Naturally these enslaved men would have sought to escape and cross the upper Potomac or the Ohio River, and in the summer season the water is low and in winter often bridged with ice, and the escape easy. There would have been no fugitive slave law. Strangely perhaps but naturally, notwithstanding, the slave would have sought to escape and go to our side to what they thought to be, and what the soldiers during the war thought to be *God's country*. What would have been the result? Border warfare, resulting in general warfare, and a struggle begun after a time by either side to conquer wholly the other. From all that, and the miseries and loss of life, the loss of property that would have resulted from a war of that kind, we are saved, and to-day thank God we are one people, our country is an undivided whole, and our southern brethren are becoming reconciled to what they now see was for their best interest, although they did not so then believe. Now these consequences of failure have been saved to us by the dead who died to save them. Should we not then reverence the memories of those who are dead, and be grateful to those who are living? Let me say a word to the soldiers who hear me. You carry with you a great deal of the unwritten history of the war. We have a history of the movements of the army, and the history even of the regiments, but the great unwritten history of how the soldiers lived in camp, how they endured hardships and many anecdotes of the war of the life of the soldier you have with you, and you will carry them with you to the grave. Why not save them? There are thousands of anecdotes in the minds and memories of Iowa soldiers, which if saved in durable form, would tend to show the lads of to-day, and those yet unborn, what the life of a soldier is. Let me relate to you a single anecdote brought to my mind of Col. John Scott. He was in command on the west bank of the Mississippi river, and the east bank was in command of another officer whom I do not remember. News came to the officer in command on the east side of the river, that an extensive raid was to be made upon him, and that he intended to abandon his post, and advised Scott to do the same. There was no raid, and the result was that Scott was court martialed and of course was in trouble. At that time I happened to be Governor of your State, and he had written me two or three times, and he now wrote me a letter in this way: "Dear Governor:—If you know any man in Iowa who is sure to be damned, who has no possible chance for salvation, I wish you would send him down to me, for I have more chances to swear here than any man

ought to have, who has any chances in the hereafter." I thought over the matter and I could not think of a man in Iowa who was in that unhappy condition. The only men I could think of who were in that condition, were the men who were engaged in the gold room in New York. Now here you men know hundreds of these anecdotes, and if you would only write out, preserve and send them to your Historical Rooms here, they would be worth a great deal more than many that are written. They would teach what the life of a soldier is, and that is what we ought to know. A word more and I will relieve you. In these days much is being done to reconcile the somewhat embittered feelings between the northern and southern people, and it is being done successfully; I am glad of it. We are to-day the same people, our future must go together, and the sooner that the feelings engendered by the war can be laid aside and more kindly feelings prevail instead, the better. But there is one thing I want to say to you. I want you yourselves never to forget, whether citizens or soldiers. I want you to teach your children and teach them to teach their children and their children's children to the end of time, that in that fierce struggle that cost you so much, that you were right and they were wrong. Never forget it! Never! They believed they were right, they were earnest and sincere in believing that they were right, but they *were wrong*. And now, good bye.

At the annual fair of the Iowa State Agricultural Society in 1882, Gov. Kirkwood was selected to deliver the annual address which he did as follows:

Fellow Citizens :—I shall not attempt to teach the farmers of Iowa who hear me, how to raise crops and cattle; they probably think they know more on these subjects than I do, and perhaps they are right in so thinking. I propose instead to call their attention to some matters connected with their pursuits, which in my judgment touch their interests and the interests of all our people as well. It goes, or should go without saying, that agriculture is the leading interest of Iowa, is that interest on which all others depend.

I have procured from the Executive Department of our State a statement showing the portion of our population living in towns and cities, and the portion living in the country on farms; also the assessed valuation for the purposes of taxation of real and personal property in town and country.

Our population in 1880 was 1,624,615; of this number there lived on farms 1,126,577; and in cities and towns 498,028; the valuation of real estate outside of cities and towns was \$247,156,682, and in cities and towns \$66,714,222.

Our system of assessing personal property does not distinguish

between country and town property, and therefore the separate valuation of each cannot be correctly given.

The gentleman by whom the statement was prepared, Mr. Fleming, for several years private secretary in the governor's office, gives as an approximation to correctness the value of live stock at \$83,832,914 and credits the whole amount to the country, and the value of other personal property at \$40,994,486 and credits the whole amount to the cities and towns, which is sufficiently accurate for the present purpose. The assessed value of railroad property in the State is \$25,904,423.

It thus appears that more than two-thirds of our people are directly engaged in farming and that more than two-thirds of the property of the State, counting farming lands and personal property thereon, is in the hands of farmers. Nor is this all that shows the greater importance of agriculture to our State. It is beyond dispute that a large portion of the residents of our cities and towns derive their employments and profits from the farmer, and mainly upon him and his labor their prosperity depends.

Is evidence needed to show that? If so it is not far to be sought. If a farmer, however large his farm or his family, however much he may diversify his industry and his products, shall year by year fall behind, that is year by year buy more than he sells, the inevitable result will be debt, and after awhile either a change in his mode of doing business or visits from the sheriff.

Now our nation is a large family; has a magnificent domain and is subject to the same conditions and the same results from the same conduct as a single farmer. During the war for the suppression of the rebellion we necessarily incurred an enormous debt. Specie disappeared, depreciated paper money became abundant; speculation, or more correctly gambling, became the order of the day in all our business affairs. When the war was over this condition continued and if possible became worse. Speculation ran riot. Even the farmer became infected; farms were mortgaged at ten per cent. interest "to bring capital into the State," and "all went, merry as a marriage bell," until 1873 when the bell rang out a different peal and pay-day was upon us.

During all these long years we had been buying more than we sold, and it seemed to many who did not understand the resources of our country, and the pluck and energy of our people, that immediate bankruptcy was before us. Frantic appeals were made to the government for aid, but the government could do but little. One thing it did, a very good thing. It gave us a currency based upon specie, a thing as necessary to the proper transaction of business as is a steel plow to the cultivation of our prairie soil.

Our farmers recovered their courage and went to work again. When I speak of farmers, I mean all who are engaged in the cultiva-

tion of our soil, and who win thereby the rewards that God gives to that honest industry. Our southern brethren prefer to call their farms plantations, and themselves "planters," so be it. I care nothing for names and am concerned only with things.

We raised great surplus crops of cotton, tobacco, wheat, corn and other grain and produced an immense surplus of provisions, all of which found a ready market abroad. In a few years things began to look better. We were selling more than we were buying. Gold began to flow into our country. Our silver was retained at home, and both metals were largely in circulation, neither of them preferred to our paper money and all again became prosperous and happy.

But last year our grain crop was a partial failure, and during the winter of 1880-'81, our cattle men lost heavily by its terrible severity.

During every year from 1863 to 1873, we had imported more than we exported, the excess of imports during the ten years being over one thousand millions of dollars, an average of more than one hundred millions of dollars per year. But, beginning with 1876, the tide turned. For that year the excess of exports was over \$79,000,000; for 1877, over \$151,000,000; for 1878, over \$257,000,000; for 1879, over \$264,000,000; for 1880, over \$176,000,000; for 1881, over \$257,000,000; an average of over \$195,000,000 per annum. But for the first nine months of the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1882, the excess of exports was only a little over \$65,000,000 a considerable portion of which if I mistake not was wiped out during the last quarter of that fiscal year. The value of the exports of the products of agriculture during the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1881, amounted to over \$720,000,000, and was larger than during any previous year in the history of the country. The value of such exports constituted 82½ per cent. of the value of the exports of domestic merchandise from the United States for that year.

I have been sometimes amused and sometime vexed at the almost total want of apprehension on the part of many intelligent men of the relative importance of agriculture and others of our home industries. I was conversing in Washington a year or two ago with one of our prominent public men about the business interests of the country. He spoke of an investment in some business enterprise, perhaps the amount of capital engaged in national banking in one of our large cities, and said the investment amounted to \$50,000,000. The words fell from his lips as if each word weighed a ton, and he spoke of the men or the associations that controlled the enterprise with the degree of deference equal to that of a London cockney, when speaking of a live lord.

I laughed and said to him, \$50,000,000 was quite a respectable sum of money, but that the poultry yards of the country produced every year a greater value. He appeared almost shocked, and asked what I meant; I replied that our population was as much as fifty millions of

people ; that I felt sure that we consumed per capita more than a dollar's worth of eggs and poultry each year ; and if so I was right in saying that the poultry yards of the country produced every year the value of fifty millions of dollars, of which hespoke with such profound deference. He was forced to admit that my calculation was a reasonable one, but I have always since thought that he regarded me with a sort of suspicion, as a dangerous kind of person that had not a proper regard for "dignities."

In looking at many other industries we see money in large amounts controlled by a few individuals. In looking at the farming interests we see a great number of people each having a comparatively small amount of money, and hence we unconsciously attach greater importance to the former than to the latter.

But let us look at the matter rightly. I have shown that the assessed value of farming lands in Iowa, is \$247,156,683. Treble that amount and you have probably a fair valuation of farming lands. \$741,470,049. Add to this double the assessed value of live stock \$96,645,828, and you have a total value of \$838,135,877, as the farming capital of our State ; and behind it as owners you have a farming population of 1,126,587, represented by 235,313 farmers living on their own lands ; asking no man for leave to labor, depending upon their own industry and enterprise, and asking nothing, but that the good God will give them sunshine and rain in their season, that they may reap the fair reward of their labor.

Let me make this matter clearer still. As already stated the value of agricultural products exported in the year ending June 30th, 1881, was over \$729,000,000. Of this amount \$270,000,000, was for bread and bread stuffs ; but mark, this was the amount of excess for exportation, after feeding our own 50,000,000 of people. Of the total exports for that year nearly \$175,000,000 was for provisions, tallow and living animals ; but again this was the excess for exportation after supplying the wants of our own people. And these enormous amounts are not "capital" so-called, but are the earnings for a single year of that great capital invested in farming lands and owned by the true capitalists, the farmers.

Six months ago the outlook was decidedly squally. At one time last spring there were strong symptoms of a panic in Wall street. Gold was shipped abroad in considerable amounts. Our imports were enormous, our exports small. The men in Wall street who employ their time in selling stocks long or short, the men in Chicago who employ their time in selling grain long or short, the railroad men, the bankers, merchants, everybody was anxiously waiting, watching, enquiring—about what ? The crops. Why ? Because they knew upon the goodness of the crops depended the prosperity of the country. Happily for our country it is now probable that we will

have a fair crop of all kinds of breadstuffs, except corn, and as that probability has increased, our people, in whatever calling, have breathed deeper and freer because they knew that the great master wheel of our business machine is sound and in its place.

Need I go further to show that agriculture is the sure basis of our prosperity—that as the farmer prospers all other honest industries prosper? Some persons, basing their action on these facts endeavor to convince the farmer that there is necessarily a conflict of interest between the town and the country. I do not so believe. I do believe that all legitimate callings and employments—that of the mechanic, the merchant, the banker, the lawyer, the teacher, the preacher, the railroad man, the miner, the day laborer, and all who honestly labor with head and hands, are essential to the welfare of our State; and that the interests of all, rightly considered, will work harmoniously together for the common benefit of all. All are parts of the great machine that is developing the wealth and urging on the growth of our State, and all the parts are necessary to its successful working. It is true that the farmer is the great master wheel that sets in motion all the other wheels; but if any one of the number is left out, the machine is incomplete and will not perform its proper functions. If this be correct, it follows that all persons engaged in callings other than farming should not only act fairly with each other, but especially with the farmer, because upon him all depend for their prosperity.

But are there not grounds to fear that this is not done? Let us look at this matter calmly and dispassionately. Formerly it was accepted as an axiom that competition was the life of trade; and we had competition sharp and active in all the channels of trade. How is it now? I read recently in a Chicago paper that the lumber men there held a meeting near the close of August, to fix the price on lumber for September, and that such has been and is to be their custom. I do not know whether our Iowa lumbermen were represented at that meeting, but if so where is the competition in the sale of lumber in this State?

I am informed that in nearly every branch of productive industry, except farming, combinations exist to control the price of products, and in some cases the amount of production, and that combinations under various names exist among the workmen in our manufacturing establishments to fix the prices of labor.

We know something, perhaps not all of the extent to which this is carried on by railroad companies. Now I am not prepared to say, and will not say that nothing but evil can result from such combinations.

I know, or think I know, that as the risk of loss in any enterprise is lessened, such enterprise can be carried on more cheaply; but I know also, or think I know, that one of the most powerful motives by

which men are governed is that of self interest—not that enlightened self interest that looks to the future as well as to the present, and regards the rights of others as well as its own, but that self interest which, feeling that it has power, will use that power for its present advancement and let the future take care of itself. The result of all this is that while the yield of your crops is uncertain, and the prices you receive for them are beyond your control, the prices of what you buy are fixed arbitrarily by those who produce what you need, and may be so fixed by them with reference merely to their own interests.

There is another subject on which I wish to direct your attention. A commission was organized during the last session of Congress to examine and report upon a revision of our present tariff, and is now in session. You are largely interested in the doings of that commission. I do not believe that any tariff law that can be devised can afford what is called protection to any agricultural or other industry that produces a large excess of products beyond what is needed for home consumption. Sugar can be protected for the reason that we produce much less than our home demand requires. But in framing a tariff bill you should see to it that you get fair play as far as possible.

You are entirely willing, I take it, to give our people engaged in manufacturing a reasonable advantage over foreign manufacturers in our home market. The difficulty is to determine the extent of that advantage. It should be so great as to enable our manufacturers to pay their employes a fair day's wages for a fair day's work, and to make for themselves a reasonable profit, but not so great as to enable them to dispense with the closest economy and strictest business methods, or to enable them to extort from the consumers unreasonable prices, or to take from them all inducements to do what you do and must continue to do to compete with their foreign rivals in foreign markets. It was originally a war measure, hurriedly passed to meet a great emergency. It has been patched and tinkered till it is difficult to understand, and in many particulars operates unjustly on the great body of the people. I think in its adjustment something can be done and should be done for your benefit. I will give two or three instances: Under the present law a duty is levied on foreign salt. I have been informed by gentlemen engaged in curing meats for foreign exportation, that meats cured with foreign salt find better sale in foreign markets than meats cured with domestic salt. It may be that meats cured with domestic salt, are just as well cured as if cured with foreign salt. But we are seeking a foreign market for the surplus of our cured meats, and should consult, so far as we may, the tastes or prejudices, if you will, of those whom we seek to make our customers. Already, under present law, foreign salt used in curing fish is duty free, and I cannot understand why the men who raise cattle and hogs should not be placed, so far as may be, on equal footing with the men who

catch fish. Again, we slaughter in this country a great many beef cattle; enough to supply our home demand and an excess to export, besides what we export alive. Each of these slaughtered animals furnishes a hide which brings to the seller a price. But we do not produce hides enough at home. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1881, we imported hides and skins and other furs to the value of \$27,000,000, and these foreign hides brought into direct competition with those produced at home, came duty free. Would not a moderate duty on foreign hides afford a little protection to the cattle raisers of the country, and enable the Government to dispense with or lessen some other duty that now bears hardly on our people. It may be said hides are a raw material to the tanner. That is true, and it is just as true that the leather made by the tanner is the raw material to the shoemaker, yet the tanner who makes the leather, and the shoemaker who uses it, are both protected. I insist that it requires as much care and skill to raise a good, fat steer, as it does to convert the hide into leather, or that leather into shoes, and the farmer who raises him is as much entitled to protection as the tanner who converts the hide into leather, or the shoemaker who converts the leather into shoes.

Again, some years ago at the close of the war, there was for a time in this State a market for flax straw. Then and since then flax has been raised in this State to a considerable extent, and the farmer could sell both the flax seed and the flax straw. There were two establishments in the county in which I live, and others in other localities, engaged in converting straw into tow, for which a ready market was found. But after a while, as I am informed, some change was made in the tariff, the effect of which was to destroy the market for the flax tow, and there has been, that since then, thousands of tons of flax straw rotted in the fields of our farmers because the market was destroyed. I do not know whether the former conditions can be restored consistently with justice to other industries, but if it can be done it should be done.

I might go on citing instances in which your interests are in my opinion injuriously affected by the present tariff; but I have done enough, if I have directed your attention to this subject; this and the subject before mentioned of the prevalence of combination, instead of competition, deserves I think, your careful study. It is for you to determine what if anything you will do about them. You may ask me what you can do; you can discuss these questions among yourselves, until you have reached, carefully considered, just and fair conclusions and then make them known to the law making powers of the Nation and State. When it shall become known in Congress and in your State Legislature, that the men who speak for you in those bodies, represent your views and express your wishes, and that you are in earnest to have those wishes realized they will be heard with respectful attention.

You have, I am told an organization called I believe, the Farmer's Alliance. I do not know the extent of that organization or its purposes if any beyond its purpose to fight the barbed wire fence monopoly. The benefit of organized effort has been shown in that fight, and can be shown in other directions. If the present organization is broad enough for the purpose, let it take up these questions and others directly affecting you as a class, and consider them carefully, and having reached conclusions, give the weight of your organization to carry them out. Those engaged in other industries and enterprises do so with telling effect.

Especially I desire to call your attention to another matter which I perceive to be of paramount importance. I believe that persons are of more importance to the State than property. If this be so, it follows, that it is of the highest importance to the State to improve as far as may be its citizens. We recognize this truth by the careful provision we make for the education of all the children of the State, thus showing our belief, that other things being equal, the intelligent man will necessarily be a more useful citizen than the ignorant man; better fitted to perform the duties of his calling, whatever that calling may be and a better worker whatever his work may be.

But are we not in danger of falling into the error of believing that education consists merely in book learning, and the still greater error of believing that it is below the supposed dignity of one who has received what we call an education, to engage in any calling requiring manual labor?

Are not our young men who attend colleges and high schools, learning the lesson, that it is beneath their dignity and a mere waste of the education they are acquiring for them to engage in the calling of the farmer or the mechanic? Are not we older men consciously or unconsciously teaching them that lesson? If so we are not only teaching them false doctrine, but we are doing a cruel wrong to the young men who heed our teaching and to our country as well. Stick to the farm young men; get what book learning you can, and then go to the farm and there apply your learning with your labor to that business, which if properly followed may not bring great wealth, but will surely bring self respect, competence and comfort, and will enable you to maintain your manly independence.

This is not only best for you, but best for the country. The tendency in our large cities and in most manufacturing industries is to concentrate great wealth in the hands of the few, and leave large masses of people dependent for food on their daily labor, and dependent on others for the privilege of laboring. In those cities and these industries, "capital," so-called, and "labor," so-called, are not only separate and distinct, but largely antagonistic and hostile.

Witness the many strikes of the last few years, some of them accom-

panied by violence, loss of life and destruction of property. Even to-day thousands of workmen are idle because they and their employers cannot agree upon "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work."

Each party, the employer on the one hand, and the employe on the other, is becoming better organized for the contest and the feeling of antagonism and hostility is becoming stronger and more bitter.

The condition of things in this direction is approaching slowly but steadily to that in the old world, where standing armies are maintained to preserve the peace.

Between these hostile forces friendly to each, hostile to neither, stands the farmer. He is at once capitalist and laborer. His capital consists of his farm, his stock and his tools. He cannot afford to hire labor except for short periods in the busy season of the year.

The products of his labor must compete in the markets of the world, with the products of the poorest paid labor; of what is called pauper labor in the old world, that of agricultural labor, and so happily for himself and the country he does a large share of his own work. He is from his situation a true conservative. As a property holder and tax payer he is directly interested in maintaining peace and good order among our people, and the honest and economical administration of the government; while as a working man he must sympathize with all who must and are willing to gain their living by their labor.

Viewed in this light his position is a most important one; it is he who in the near or distant future must stand between the capitalist and the laborer, and adjust fairly and honestly the differences between them. Can any education be too good for men who are to occupy this position? They should be men of broad and liberal views; of extensive and accurate information, honest, industrious, economical, enterprising self-reliant, independent, God fearing and liberty loving, firm to hold for themselves what is theirs, and willing and prompt to give to all others that to which they are fairly entitled.

I have intended in my remarks rather to indicate subjects for your consideration than to discuss them; to furnish a text, rather than preach a sermon.

Let me impress upon you the importance of doing your own thinking. I do not intend by this to advise against the consideration of the views of others; but I do intend to advise you not to accept such views and opinions without careful examination and consideration.

The future of our country is largely in your hands to-day, and will be in the future in the hands of those who may succeed you.

MAY THEY PROVE WORTHY OF THE GREAT TRUST.

At the annual fair held in Linn County, in 1884, Governor Kirkwood delivered the annual address from which the following are a few extracts:

"There is no class of people in all our land to whom for their own sake and the sake of the country a thorough and complete education is more needful than to our farmers.

But it is said, and I am sorry to say truly said that the sons of our farmers who are educated in our high schools and colleges refuse to engage in work on the farm and prefer the professions and other employments in our towns and cities. This is to me one of the most discouraging features of our present social condition. It results from various causes. The farmer's son going to our towns and cities sees there a mode of life that seems to him better than his own, and he longs to enjoy it. He sees the town residences surrounded by well kept lawns, shaded by beautiful trees, and surrounded with handsome flowers. When he returns to his home he contrasts what he has seen in town, with what he sees at home, and in many cases the contrast is far from agreeable. He sees or thinks he sees in towns, opportunities for social and intellectual enjoyments superior to those he enjoys at home, and he longs to enjoy those opportunities. He sees, or thinks he sees that wealth for which so many of us are eager, and beyond that,

POLITICAL DISTINCTION

for which so many of us are eager, and more easily reached from town than from the farm, and he longs to go where these privileges that to him are so alluring can be more easily won.

If these be the causes of complaint, how may they be removed? Beautify your own homes. Make them, too, attractive. It can be easily and cheaply done, and having done it you will find that not only will your children be better contented, but that your own comfort and pleasure will be greatly increased.

So arrange your intercourse with your neighbors, that your children may find abundant social enjoyment at their own houses, and in their own neighborhood. What is there to prevent any half dozen families from having a little social gathering of their young folks every week, each family holding the "sociable" in turn. Do not make it a burden upon the family where it is held by requiring the preparation of a supper or anything of that kind, merely get the young folks and the old folks too, so far as may be done, together for social enjoyment and let them all have a good time. In short, make your own homes and their surroundings the pleasantest place in the world for your children, and they will not be disposed to go elsewhere. If any of you who hear me are town folks, permit me to commend the same course to you, and you may find it more effectual than laws to guard your children against the temptations to evil practices, that exist in towns to a much greater extent than they do in the country. Show to your children that although great wealth seldom comes to the farm, a sure competence and a manly independence are far better

than great wealth and more easily and surely attained on the farm, than in the city.

It is a common, but in my judgment not a true saying, that farming does not pay. I have frequently heard farmers say, "If I could sell my farm and go to town to live, I could live easier and make more money by lending my money than by farming." Let us figure a little on that. Say that an average farm in Iowa of 160 acres is with the stock and tools on it worth ten thousand dollars. * * * Now, take your ten thousand and go to town to live. Your ten thousand in money unless you beat the assessor will be assessed at five thousand dollars for taxation, and on that you will pay from two to three per cent. taxes, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars. Your house rent if you should rent a house as good as the one on the farm, will cost you at least one hundred and fifty more. Your fuel will cost you fifty dollars, and you must buy everything you use for food and clothing. You will be fortunate if you can realize eight per cent. on your money year by year, allowing for the time required to lend it in the first place, and the time it remains on hand between loans. This will give you eight hundred dollars per year to live on, and you will wish to live as well as you now do on the farm. If you should happen to make a bad loan, and a consequent loss, your capital is diminished by so much and your income proportionally lessened. I tell you my friends the farm will pay better than that, and is all the time increasing in value. The land that was entered thirty years ago at \$1.25 per acre, is now worth \$40 to \$50 per acre, and thirty years hence will be worth \$100 per acre.

Test the matter in another way. Give the farm a fair chance. Open an account with the farm on the first day of January next, and credit it with all you take from it for a year at current prices, your rent, your taxes, your fuel, your bread stuffs, your provisions, every chicken and every egg you eat, the milk and butter and the fruit you use, all that you raise and consume in the family, and that you must buy and pay for if you leave the farm, and add to that what you sell and use for outside purposes, and you will find the farm pays well. I say again as I have often said before, "stick to the farm young men."

THE STATE WE LIVE IN.

A reporter says "The Governor closed by paying a high compliment to Iowa, and when he finished, we are sure all his Iowa auditors were glad that they live in the splendid State so admirably described by him. He was confident that Iowa was the best State, in the best country of the globe. He had traveled in almost every state and territory of the United States, and had invariably returned with a full belief that Iowa excelled them all in material wealth, and in its promising possibilities." * * * As a closing remark the Governor said:

"If some day when we are done building railroads here, some one may suggest the idea of building a railroad from this world to the great beyond. If it is done I am quite confident that the earthly terminus will be located in Iowa."

It was arranged that the Governor should make a political speech in the evening, and he gave his audience one of his accustomed plain, straight-forward, clear, logical and convincing discourses. One of the papers of the times said of the occasion:

"It was an interesting sight at the Board of Trade rooms last night to behold the veteran War Governor of Iowa, the friend and co-worker of Lincoln, Seward, Stanton and others, 'the great ones long gone by,' the co-temporary of Andrew and Morton and Morgan, at a time when Governors of States were tried as never before or since; to see this vigorous representative of the heroic period of our country's history, standing in the presence of a younger generation of men; earnestly consulting with and advising them as to a choice of parties. Running through Governor Kirkwood's informal address was the great fundamental truth which the young are wise if they learn from the lips of age, and not by bitter experience, that a party should be judged not so much by this, that or the other phase of party doctrine prominent at any one era of its history, as by the record of its tendencies and the evidence it gives of its capabilities for good or ill."



CHAPTER XIX.

Striking the Word "White" from the Constitution—The Governor Advocates It—Reunion of Crocker's Brigade in 1885—Letter to Belknap—Address of Welcome—Banquet Speech to the Toast, "Ulysses S. Grant"—His Estimate of Him—Reunion in 1887—Response to the Toast, "The Old War Governors"—Reunion of the 22nd Regiment.

During the canvass preceding the election at which a vote was to be taken on the proposition to strike the word "white" from the Constitution, and admit the colored man to all the rights enjoyed by his white brother, the Governor made speeches in favor of the proposition in several of the pro-slavery counties along the southern border of the State. In a speech made at Chariton, in Lucas Co., he treated his hearers to the following :

"As I came from Corydon here, I passed through some very rough, brushy country. As I was passing through a lonely section in that brush, a man stepped out by the side of the road, stopped my team, and demanded my money or my life. Of course I did not want to lose my life, and none of us you know want to give up our money. So, looking at the man, I concluded that if we entered into a hand to hand contest, I might, as I am not a very small man, be able to beat him off, and at it we went, rough and tumble, sometimes one on top, and sometimes the other, with doubts as to which would become the victor. At this juncture, up came a negro, and for some reason he took sides with me, and against the other party. True, he was not very skillful, but he did the best he could, and fought for me, and between us two we beat the robber off, and he took to the brush. I then gathered up my lines and got into my buggy preparatory to coming on to Chariton. The negro looked at me and said, 'Massa, Is'e gwine to Chariton; I'd like to ride with you.' I looked at him and said, 'You're a nigger.' He replied, 'Massa, that man I helped you beat off has just gone into the brush, and if you drive off and leave me he will come back and fall on me, because I helped you. I'se gwine to Chariton; I'd like to ride with you.' I looked at him again and said, 'You are a nigger,' and drove on up to Chariton. Now suppose as I am talking to you, that negro, having escaped and got to Chariton, should come into this court room, and should repeat

the story, how long would you remain to hear me? In less than five minutes the house would be clear. You would not remain to listen to such a man! Now," said the Governor, "the negro aided us to the best of his ability, and with his aid we defeated the enemy. Now are we going to leave him in the hands of those whom he aided us to defeat, or shall we take him along with us?"

As a further illustration of his subject the Governor said:

"I am a farmer and keep a good many cattle, often buying considerable numbers, and sometimes in buying a lot get some quite runty ones. Now, it is not my rule to put those runty ones into my poorest pasture lot. I give them the best feed I have, and take the best care of them in order that they may catch up with the others if possible. Now, the negro is behind us. Let us give him a chance, school him, and if after we have had more than three hundred years the start of him he gets ahead of us, in the name of God let him go."

This speech produced a telling effect, and after its delivery arguments against negro suffrage in counties where it was delivered were completely silenced.

Now with "the cruel war long over," there is nothing more gratifying to the old soldiers than to meet the "Old War Governor" at their regimental and brigade reunions, and it is equally gratifying to him to meet them on these occasions and grasp them warmly by the hand, and greet them with his kindly, cheerful smiles.

At a reunion of the Crocker Brigade, held at Iowa City in September, 1885, Gen. W. W. Belknap being its president, said:

"It happened, ladies and gentlemen, that at the close of the war, some of us, myself included, had an insane desire to enter the regular army. In order that I might accomplish that purpose, I wrote a letter to Gov. Kirkwood asking him to help me. Here is the response I received. It is very good, and it shows so thoroughly his friendship for Gen. Crocker—although he may not now know what he said then, and probably has forgotten this letter—that I propose to read it."

It was read as follows, interspersed with some jovial remarks by the General:

IOWA CITY, Iowa, August 1, 1865.

Brig.-Gen. W. W. Belknap.

DEAR GENERAL:—Enclosed find note to Secretary Stanton. My reason for not writing sooner is this: Some time since I had written

to Gen. Crocker, that I would do anything I could to procure him the position of Colonel in the regular army (having ascertained that he desired such position). When I received your letter, I thought it right to inform him of that fact, and enquire whether my letter for you would interfere with him. I have seen so much of this thing of recommending everybody, that I have become heartily sick of it. Crocker answered that I *ought* to recommend you, and that he did not think my so doing would prejudice him, and I now very gladly enclose you letter to Stanton, hoping very sincerely it may be of service. It is but fair to say, however, that if but one of you could get the appointment, my preference would be for Crocker.

Very truly,

S. J. KIRKWOOD.

THE PRESIDENT—I have the honor to introduce to you Hon. Samuel J. Kirkwood (who was greeted with continued applause and cheers).

After quiet had been restored, he delivered the following address, which was at intervals roundly applauded:

Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Crocker Iowa Brigade:—I am taken by surprise; I didn't know there was such a letter in existence, but I stand by every word of it.

Our worthy Mayor has extended to you a hearty welcome to our beautiful University City. The good people of our county generally, have honored me by assigning me the very pleasant duty of greeting you in their name, and on their behalf, bidding you a hearty welcome to their midst. They bid me to say to you that they feel highly honored by your presence, and deeply grateful to you for the great service you and your gallant comrades have rendered to them and our country and the world at large, by showing to all men that a Government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," is not only the best Government for all its citizens that the wit of man has yet devised, but that it has the power, the will, and the courage to maintain itself against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

These periodical reunions of the soldiers of the Union army have an importance and a use beyond the pleasures derived by the soldiers themselves from their joyous meetings with their old comrades, in which they recall the incidents of the camp, the march and the battle, and they "fight their battles o'er again."

It is now over twenty years since the war of the rebellion closed, and during that time there have grown up to the years of manhood and the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, very many young men, who, when the war broke out, were mere lads or babes unborn, and to whom necessarily the war, its causes, its vicissitudes, its days of defeat and gloom, and its days of victory and rejoicing are matters of history and not of experience; and these reunions bring before

these young men and others still younger more vividly than can be done in any other way, the dangers, the hardships, the labors and sufferings of yourselves and your comrades, living and dead, in our and their behalf, and impress upon us and upon them more fully than can be done in any other way, the deep debt of gratitude we and they owe to you.

But time is telling upon you and upon all of us. "The boys," as we in times past were so fond of calling you, and as you were so fond of being called, are daily becoming older and less in number. Year by year the roll call on this side of the dark river shows fewer "present for duty," and year by year the roll call beyond that river shows the rapid increase of those who are there to greet each other and the "old commander" who has left you and joined them.

During your time of fiery trials circumstances brought me in somewhat close connection with you, and I trust that you will believe that within the time of my duty, I did the best I could for you and for the cause for which you did so much. Will you permit me to suggest that in my judgment there is something you can yet do towards teaching the young men of whom I have spoken, how much they owe you and your comrades, by showing them more fully and more clearly what you did and what you suffered and how you did, and how you suffered for them.

The histories of the war written and to be written will tell of troops furnished by each State for the war, the numbers of volunteers, the numbers of drafted men, the numbers of re-enlisted veterans, the numbers of killed and wounded, the numbers who died of disease, the battles that were fought, lost and won, and the names of the leaders who achieved honor and fame; but how shall those who come after you learn the life of the soldier in the camp and on the march, his labors, his sufferings, his trials, his sports and his pleasures? In short, how shall they learn what it is to be a soldier in war time? 'This is a knowledge that only you have, and that knowledge if not in some way preserved will die with you. If at the reunions and camp fires held every year the stories you tell to each other and enjoy so much, of incidents that never appear in written history, could be preserved, they would in years to come when you shall have passed away, be intensely interesting and instructive to the young men who in the future may be called upon to do what you have done, to dare what you have dared, to suffer what you have suffered, to enjoy what you have enjoyed. Why cannot these stories be preserved? Why cannot you write out these stories you so love to tell and to hear, and place them in our State Historical Society for preservation. A sheet or two of legal cap paper will preserve a tale that in the distant future will excite the smiles of those now unborn, and will stir them in their day to emulate for themselves and their successors the deeds that in our day you have done for us and them.

Time has done and is doing much to soften the bitter and angry feelings engendered by the war and that in some degree still live. It is the duty of every well wisher of his country to do what he properly may to advance this desirable end. But there is one thing in connection with our civil war that must not be forgotten. It was not a tournament in which the knights of the different sections of our country met to do battle in the lists for their own honor and for their ladies' favor, nor was it a prize fight in which brutal sluggers pounded each other for the applause of others as brutal as themselves, and for the money that went to the winner. It was a conflict of political ideas, that reached to the very foundations of our system of government, and we must never forget that in that conflict we were right and those against whom we fought were wrong. All of us citizens and soldiers should see to it that the children growing up amongst us shall learn that lesson, shall learn to teach it to their children, and they to their children, until the time shall come as it surely will come, when all our people shall believe that this broad and magnificent domain of ours is one country and only one, that our whole people are citizens of one great nation and only one, and when the only strife among them shall be as to how each shall do the most and the best to protect the rights and secure the happiness of all. May God speed the day!

Again, in behalf of our citizens, I greet you; again bid you cordial welcome, and heartily pray you may live long and prosper.

At a banquet given to the Brigade, Gov. Kirkwood was on the program to respond to the following toast:

"To the illustrious and beloved memory of the first commander of the Army of the Tennessee, who at forty-one years of age was the commander of all the armies of the United States, the largest army ever commanded by one man, Ulysses S. Grant."

Gov. Kirkwood's response:

Mr. President:—As the world grows older and as we think wiser and better, we are disposed to change somewhat the standard by which men claimed by their admirers to be entitled to be called "great," shall be measured. The time has been when with most men the only standard of merit was success, and that remains the only standard with too many to-day; but the number of those who demand a higher standard of greatness is continually growing larger; *now* to entitle any one to be called truly great, something more and better than mere success in his endeavors is demanded. We demand of the soldier whom his admirers claim to distinguish as a great captain, not merely that he shall have fought and won great battles, but that he shall have fought and won them in a good cause; not merely that he has fought and won, but we must know why he fought, and for what he won. We

insist on knowing whether the successful statesman has been controlled in his actions by selfish ambition only, or by the higher motive of promoting the public welfare. We demand to know not merely how many millions the successful financier has made, but how he made them and how he used them; in short we demand to know what has been the moving cause in actions called great, and if we find it to be merely the gratification of a selfish ambition, not controlled by the desire to be of service to his fellowmen, we may be willing to say in each case the man has been successful, but we cannot call him great.

Let us try by this standard Ulysses S. Grant. What manner of man was he? He was a plain, quiet, unpretending man, honest and truthful, manly and generous, self-reliant, of unyielding tenacity of purpose when his purpose has been deliberately formed; not cast down by failure nor unduly elated by success; but making both failure and success starting points for further effort. He was an ardent lover of his country and its institutions, and brought to its service in its hour of peril the personal qualities I have mentioned, and the military skill acquired by his professional education and training. He was a true and trusty friend, a loving and faithful husband, a kind and affectionate father. I do not remember anything in the history of any man more touching or more heroic than his struggle during his painful illness, to complete his history of the war, his personal memoirs and thus make some provision for his family, whose means had been squandered by the unfaithful management of one whom he had unwisely trusted. Incited by his love for his wife and children, and sustained by his indomitable courage and will, he fought this, his last fight, until his work was accomplished and then died; conquered by death, but victor still.

It would be worse than idle for me to attempt a review of Grant's military operations in the presence of so many who fought under him, and by their valor and good conduct won his battles; but some things in connection therewith even a civilian may properly say.

He seemed to comprehend fully from the first, that the war on our part must be an offensive one; that two things were necessary to ultimate success. The dismemberment of the vast territory held by the so-called confederacy, and the utter destruction of its military power. The capture of Ft. Donelson was important in breaking the rebel line from the Mississippi river to the Alleghanies, but was rendered more valuable by the capture of some ten thousand rebel troops. The fight on the right to prevent the escape of the garrison was as hard and as bloody, as that on the left to gain the entrenchments. Again, the capture of Vicksburg was important not only in dismembering the rebel territory, but as weakening the rebel army by the loss of thirty thousand veteran troops.

The siege of Vicksburg illustrates largely some of the character-

istics of Grant as a soldier. The place was strongly garrisoned and so strongly fortified as to be considered impregnable, but its capture was a necessity. It could not be carried from the front; months of effort to reach it; rear from the north had failed, and many despaired of success. But Grant did not despair; his courage, his self-reliance, his tenacity of purpose, his unrelenting perseverance, what some considered his dogged obstinacy, remained unshaken, and at last the daring plan of running the blockade of the rebel batteries with some of our boats, and of thus transferring his army to the rear of Vicksburg from the south was determined on. It was a daring adventure; its failure would probably have caused the capture of our army; and that, added to our misfortunes in Virginia might have proved ruinous. But high daring was needed, and never was higher daring shown. The blockade was run. Our army crossed the river and marched and fought continually till Pemberton was shut up in Vicksburg, and his and Vicksburg's capture made sure.

The final campaign commenced in 1864; it involved the march of Grant from near Washington to Richmond, the march of Sherman from Chattanooga to Atlanta, then to Savannah, and thence through South Carolina to the point in North Carolina where Johnson surrendered; Hood had been left in Tennessee to be cared for by Thomas, who did that duty, as he did all his duties—thoroughly; and the two great armies of Grant and Sherman, acting on different lines, but in full concert moved on until at Appomattax the shell of the confederacy was broken, and the hearts of all loyal men leaped for joy, that at last the great agony was over and our Union was saved. Even the gold gamblers of New York suspended their dirty work long enough to listen to the singing of the doxology in Wall street.

An incident connected with the surrender of Johnson's army to Sherman, illustrates Grant's manliness and greatness. Johnson proposed the surrender of his army on conditions outside of military jurisdiction, and which Sherman of course submitted to the Government for approval or rejection. In the excitement following the assassination of Lincoln, the terms proposed were not only rejected, but rejected in such a way as to be extremely offensive to Sherman, and Grant was ordered to Sherman's army to conduct the surrender. Now, Sherman was the only one of our generals who was regarded as Grant's rival as a soldier. His previous great services in the West, his great marches to Atlanta, to Savannah, and North Carolina, had given him a prestige and created an enthusiasm for him almost if not quite equal to that for Grant. If, under these circumstances, Grant had been a weak man, he might have so arranged as to have himself received Johnson's surrender, and thus taken to himself the honor of being the only one of our generals who had received the surrender of a hostile army; but, thank God, Grant was not a weak man. He was a strong man, a just

man, a manly man. His presence in Sherman's army was scarcely known, and Sherman had what he had fairly earned—the honor of Johnson's surrender.

And so it seems to me, measuring the old commander by the better standard of greatness, we find him to have been an honest, truthful, brave man, a just, manly and generous man, whose services were more valuable to none than to those whom you aided him to conquer; earnestly loving and faithfully serving his country, a soldier who fairly won every step in his splendid career, by faithful and valuable service, and for these reasons entitled to a high place among the truly great. May he rest in peace.

At the fourth reunion of the Crocker Brigade, held at Davenport in 1887, one of the toasts at the banquet held in the evening, was "The Old War Governors," to this Gov. Kirkwood responded:

I am inclined to think there is some peculiar appropriateness in selecting me to respond to this toast, because I think I know more about what the war governors did than almost any of you. It is a very easy thing to be a "war governor" in these "piping times of peace," very pleasant to be cheered as you sometimes cheer me. It makes me almost fancy that I was a soldier, and I want to shake hands with you and tell you stories of long ago. But it was a very different thing to be a war governor in war times. One of the speakers to-night mentioned some of the difficulties the war governor of Iowa had to combat, when he entered upon the discharge of his duty. But there is one thing he did not have to fight against, as did the war governor of Indiana—"a powerful influence against war at home." Almost all Iowa was loyal. But you older men will remember what I am about to tell you. As you have been told by Major Wright, we had no military system. When I got word by mail from Davenport—we had no telegraphs or telephones in Iowa at that time—that a call had been made upon Iowa for one regiment, I did not know, and I could not find a man who could tell me, what composed a regiment. I came down here to Davenport and consulted John F. Dillon, one of the lawyers of the day, who afterward became a judge of the Supreme Court, and he took the statutes and read them, but they shed no light upon the vexed question of what composed a regiment. He did not know how many companies there were in a regiment or what officers were necessary, or how many men to a company. Suffice to say we conquered the difficulty after awhile, and sent forth the first regiment which covered Iowa all over with glory, and set an example to the Crocker men that was of service to them and all others who followed the first regiment in the field. But let me tell you we had no money in Iowa then, but were suffering in the throes of the financial revolu-

tion of 1857; nothing but paper money, and the only money of this kind we had was the money of the State bank. It was the best time for paying debts that I ever knew of, for after three o'clock, when the bank closed, if a man had any of this money and was in debt he would travel ten miles to pay it to the man he might happen to owe, for fear it might depreciate in value or become worthless before morning. It was six months from the firing upon Fort Sumter before we received from the United States a dollar toward carrying on the operations of the war. There was no money in the State treasury. Our bonds were selling at ten per cent. discount before the war commenced, and if there had been millions there I could not have touched it without a law authorizing me to draw it. But there was not. So the legislative and executive authorities provided for the issuance of bonds to raise the money, and if the question of the constitutionality of this proceeding had been raised at this time, I could not have proved it to be constitutional, as I had no right to do any such thing.

A clothing house in New York very generously offered to take our bonds at seventy-five cents on the dollar, and pay in clothing at one hundred per cent. prices. I remember in the fall of 1861 with troops at Camp McClellan here, we had no covering for the soldiers, and had to beg either for the gift or loan of comforts, blankets or quilts to keep them warm. There were some curious things done in those days. I had no more right to borrow money for the State of Iowa and give its note for it, than I have to give your note, but I did what seemed to be the best and only thing to be done, I gave them to the amount of thousands of dollars. There was not one of these notes that was legally worth the paper it was written on, or that could have been collected in a court of law, but the people had faith that the State would honor and pay these notes, and it did honor and pay them. And if it had not been so, our men at Camp McClellan would have had to go home and I could not have raised and turned out your regiments. As it was it took such a time that the people who did not go to war were wondering why the governor did not do something. The clothing for the soldiers was made in the towns where the companies were raised. The cloth was contributed, and the women, God bless them, made the blouses and pantaloons for the men to wear away.

Some time since I was riding on the cars to Iowa City and fell into conversation with a gentleman. I found out who he was and that he had lived in Iowa during these times, and he told me that he was preserving as a memento of the war times a permit for him to leave the State of Iowa and go over into the State of Illinois. I had ordered that no man should leave the State of Iowa to avoid the draft. Of course I need not state that I had no authority to prohibit anybody from coming in or going out of Iowa, but it was a "war measure," and spared me the ordering of a draft.

We had a great deal of trouble in many directions. I am speaking to soldiers now—there was a very curious and almost insane desire among the officers of the regiment for promotion. Each regiment had a Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, Major, Quarter Master and sometimes a Chaplain. Well the Captains and Lieutenants were given the command of the companies they raised, but the number of men who thought themselves capable of and qualified to fill these offices I have spoken of, was astonishing, and the reason I made so many good selections was because I had so many good men to choose from. But that was not all, there were a great many promotions to be made after the regiments were in the field. A great many of the officers thought they were qualified to command armies, and I do not know but that I would rather undertake to rule Brigham Young's harem, than to appoint and promote officers for Iowa regiments again.

There was a degree of impatience among our people to have this war brought to a happy termination, and they blamed almost everybody, and especially the poor war Governors, because it was not done. And so as I said in the beginning, although it is very pleasant to be a war Governor now, I would not want to undertake to be one again.

On the 22nd of September, 1886, at Iowa City an association of the 22nd Iowa Infantry was formed and a reunion held.

At a camp fire President J. C. Shrader said : "Comrades, I now have the pleasure of introducing to you our Old War Governor, who sent us out into the field and looked after us while we were there."

As Governor Kirkwood advanced to the front of the stage he was greeted with cheers and long continued applause, when he said :

Some people say there is no use of these reunions, I don't care anything about them, etc. Let me say you will all feel better for this reunion in years to come, and I think you will not allow such a long time to elapse without a reunion again.

Now I propose to address you a very short time. I want to hear short stories, and I want you to take part in telling them. If you only could tell publicly, the stories you tell each other it would make a very interesting meeting.

I do not think man was made for himself alone. A man who does nothing for anybody but himself ; who works only for himself ; looks after himself only, and cares nothing for those about him is a very small man. It comes to almost all of us to do something for each other at times, and it comes to some men that they can do much for

other people and for the world. That was your high privilege. You had the chance of doing what our fathers over a hundred years ago did. You endured labor, fatigue and suffering, not for yourselves alone but for your country and for the world; and because you did it and did it bravely and well, you are honored as you are honored to-day, and will be as long as you live. It was a high privilege that did not come to all, but it came to you; and your children and your children's children will feel proud in telling what you did. What was it you did? You showed to the world that men are capable of self-government. You maintained order in our land, and you showed to those in other lands who are struggling for what we here enjoy through your noble deeds, that man *is* capable of self-government.

This is what you did. A portion of the people in 1860 and 1861, forgot that they had the right of self-government. They were dissatisfied with an election held in 1860; when one of the purest, strongest and most unselfish men that I have ever seen was elected President of the United States. Instead of waiting four years they said no, we will rebel and destroy our government; and you men said they should not and they did not. All over the world eager eyes were looking to our country as evidence of the great truth, that man is capable of self-government. I do not mean to say that people sometimes do not err in their judgment. They make mistakes at times; but our theory is that if the same men who make mistakes, have the intelligence to see the errors that have been made and correct them, that is self-government. In a Government of that kind force and violence have no place.

Now, is not that the whole of it? Is not that what you men fought for? Was it not that which you have to hand down to your children? There is one thing our young men do not realize, and that is the importance of the thing which you have given them.

I do not desire, and I think no good man would desire to perpetuate hostile feeling between the people of different parts of the country. But there is one thing you ought to do, and that is to teach your children and have them teach their children, that you were right and that the men who fought against you were wrong. [Applause.]

Now, if I were to talk to you an hour to-night, I could not tell you any more. That is all there is of it in my judgment, the truth in a nutshell, and now with a little story I will leave you.

When I was down attending the reunion of the First Iowa at Davenport, we were having a jolly good time as I hope you are having here. In the afternoon I was present at a business meeting. A comrade proposed that I be elected an honorary member, and a very enthusiastic one on the stage arose and seconded the motion and in doing so he called me the "father of the regiment." I was elected. During the evening of that day I was called upon to do what I am

doing here this evening. In doing so I thanked the regiment for the honor, and said that I was highly flattered in having such a good looking family, so many promising boys. I also said there was one drawback to it, and that was I did not know how my wife would feel about it when I went home and she learned I had so many out-lying children. [Laughter and applause.] But she is a good natured woman and took it very kindly. Now thanking you and wishing you health, happiness and comfort, all of which you have richly earned and so well deserve, I bid you good night. [Loud cheers and a round of applause.]

One of the shortest letters Gov. Kirkwood ever wrote was in answer to an invitation to attend the Sixth Bi-ennial Reunion of Crocker's Brigade. Here it is:

IOWA CITY, Aug. 10, 1891.

Col. H. H. Rood:—I will attend if my health will permit.

Very truly,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.



CHAPTER XX.

Meets Garfield and others in New York—Makes Speeches from there to Cleveland—Secretary of the Interior—The Indian Question—Consults Senator Edmunds—Honesty vs. Trickery—Favors the poor Chickasaws—Kindness to Employees in the Office—Mrs. Kirkwood as a Cabinet Lady—As a Lady in the House—The Governor Retires from the Cabinet—Is made Bank President—Visits the Pacific Coast—Banquet at Tacoma—Makes a Speech—Mr. Dutcher also Speaks.

During the Presidential canvass of 1880 a conference with General Garfield, of several of the leading Republican politicians of the country was held in the month of August in the city of New York. Among them were Benj. Harrison, Schuyler Colfax and S. J. Kirkwood. General Garfield went from Cleveland one route, by Buffalo, and returned the other by way of Binghampton, and the conferees, some fifteen in number, all returned to Cleveland with him on a special train, stopping at Chatauqua over Sunday. They had a perfect ovation at every railroad station, a carpeted flat car being often the rostrum from which speeches were made. Governor Kirkwood spoke at Port Jervis, Hornelsville, Chatauqua, Cambridge and other places. General Garfield was so taken with the style, apt illustrations, manner and matter of Governor Kirkwood's first speech, that at Garfield's request it was several times repeated on the way.

He probably thought as James G. Blaine once said, "Governor Kirkwood, with his peculiar style of oratory, can do us more good than any man in this country."

As Indiana was considered a doubtful state in this canvass, at Mr. Garfield's suggestion Gov. Kirkwood was sent into that state to do some public speaking before the election.

It is quite probable that this first favorable acquaintance paved the way for the appointment of Gov. Kirkwood to a place in the Garfield cabinet, of which he became a member.

The universal verdict seemed to be that as Secretary of the Interior, he would prove to be "the right man in the right place." Senator Voorhees, a Democrat, declared that the appointment was the best that could possibly be made, that he had served on committees with Mr. Kirkwood and knew well the value of his solid judgment and the possibilities of his rare good sense, as well as the certainties of his strict integrity and his indomitable industry. Senator Cameron of Wisconsin said: "I was a member of the Teller Committee with him; outside of Iowa and a circle in Washington, the people had no idea how strong a man Kirkwood was, and what fitness there was in his appointment." The press and people of Iowa were gratified by his appointment, although it deprived them of their ablest representative in the Senate.

The Department of the Interior embraces a greater number of Bureaus, and has charge of a greater variety of public interests than any other, embracing Indian Affairs, Public Lands, Railroads, Census, Pensions, Patents, Education, Public Buildings and Charitable Institutions.

It requires a small army of subordinates and clerks to carry on these branches of the Department, and the best of executive ability at its head to keep the work of them all in proper order.

It had so often been said of our western aboriginal neighbors, that the only good Indians were dead ones; that it had almost become the general belief that it was, and still is true. The new Secretary thought that this could be reversed. He was, if not the first, at least one of the first to advocate the breaking up of the tribal relations, the allotment to them of their lands in severalty, and the bestowing upon them the rights of citizenship and requiring of them its corresponding duties.

In discussing this subject Nov. 1, 1881, in his first report as Secretary of the Interior, he says:

The Indian question, as it is called, has lost nothing of its interest or importance, and the methods by which it shall be finally settled are not yet fully recognized. All who have studied the question, unite in the opinion that the end to be attained is the civilization of the Indians and their final adoption into the mass of our citizens, clothed with all the rights, and instructed in and performing all the duties of citizenship. The difficulty lies in devising means by which this end shall be accomplished.

The difficulties to be overcome are mainly these: The Indians do not speak, and do not wish to learn to speak our language; hence all business with them by the government and by individuals has been, and must be transacted through the medium of interpreters. Misunderstandings must continue to arise in the future as they have arisen in the past, between the government and the Indians under this condition of affairs, and so long as it shall continue, the Indians, unable to carry on in person ordinary business transactions with our citizens generally or even with their agents, are completely isolated and are compelled to adhere to that tribal relation which so greatly stands in the way of their advancement. It is not probable that much can be done in the way of teaching our language to adult Indians, but much may be done and is being done in the direction of so teaching those of school age, and our efforts to extend and maintain Indian schools should be earnest and constant. * * * Schools should be cherished and strengthened. It is idle to expect any material advancement by the Indians in civilization until they have learned to speak and write our language, and to labor for their living, and these things to a great extent go hand in hand. Those of middle age and over are, I fear, beyond our reach. We must depend mainly upon the proper training of the youth. To do this we must teach them, and to teach them will cost money. If we really mean to civilize them, we must incur the expense necessary to that end. Our whole Indian policy has in my judgment been characterized by a parsimony which has borne the more respectable, but undeserved name of economy. We have acted very much as does the man who, burdened with a heavy debt, contents himself with paying the interest without diminishing the principal. I am satisfied that in the management of our Indian affairs we have found, as many have in the management of their private affairs, that the policy which for the time being seemed the cheapest, in the end has proved the most expensive. When the Indian shall have learned to speak and write our language, to earn his own living by his own labor, to obey the law and aid in making and administering it, the Indian problem will be solved, and not till then. Money wisely

applied to these ends will be well spent; money withheld from these ends will be extravagance.

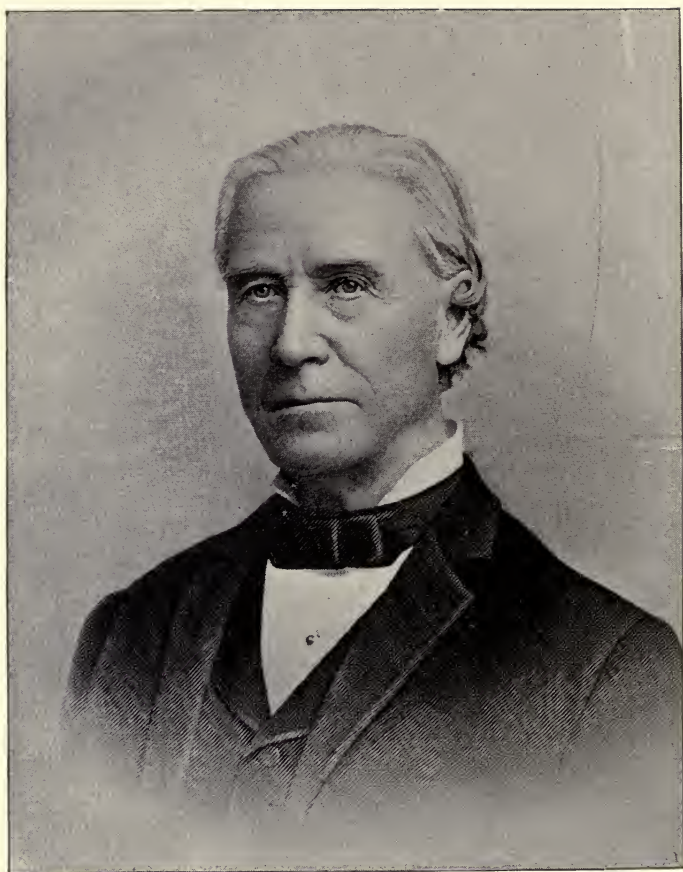
Again, all the traditions of our Indians teach them that the only occupation for a brave is the war or the chase, and hence they regard labor, manual labor as degrading. We should not be impatient with them on that account, for while it may be curious that it should be so, it is, I fear, true that this opinion of this people, standing on the confines of savagery, is held by many who have reached the very topmost heights of civilization and refinement. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the Indian does not willingly engage in manual labor. But if he is to make upward progress—to become civilized—he must labor. The game on which he lived is gone or so nearly gone that he cannot rely on it as food, and yet he must have food. The government recognizing this situation has undertaken to, and does furnish a large portion of our Indians food and clothing, and at the same time has been endeavoring to teach them to be self-supporting by assigning them land for cultivation, furnishing them with farming tools, horses and harness and encouraging them to work. But two difficulties have attended this system, although it has met with considerable success. The first is, that adult Indians thoroughly grounded in the faith that labor is degrading, prefer pauperism to independence; that is, prefer to live upon food furnished by the labor of others to earning their food by their own labor; a preference which is perhaps shared with them by some white men. This is not true, however, with all Indians. Many individuals of some of the tribes are willing to work and are working under difficulties, but still it remains true that others are content to be and will remain mere paupers.

The other difficulty in the way of making the Indians self-supporting is that we have not given them a fair chance to become so. The titles of the Indians to most of the reservations, perhaps to all of them, except to those in the Indian Territory, are not such as the courts are bound to protect. They are compelled to rely largely, if not entirely upon the executive and legislative departments of the government. The reservations set apart by law, by treaty or executive order have been usually many times larger than necessary (if cultivated) for the support of the tribes placed thereon. Our people in their march westward have surrounded these reservations, and seeing in them large tracts of fertile land withheld from the purpose which they believed it was intended—cultivation—have called upon the executive and legislative departments to make new treaties, new laws, and new orders, and these calls have generally been heeded. Now it is clear that no Indian will, with good heart, engage in making and improving a farm, with the knowledge or the prospect that after he has so done he may at any time be required to leave it and “move on.” In the case of the Indian he may have the privilege of keeping

his home, if he will sever the ties of kinship and remain behind his tribe; but few do this. I wish to emphasize the point that we are asking too much of the Indian, when we ask him to build up a farm in the timber or on the prairie, with the belief that at some future time he will be compelled to choose between abandoning the fruits of his labor, or his kindred and tribe. White men would not do so, and we should not ask Indians to do so.

I therefore earnestly recommend two things in case that the present number of reservations shall be maintained: First, that existing reservations, where entirely out of proportion to the number of Indians thereon, be, with the consent of the Indians, and upon just and fair terms, reduced to proper size; and, Second, that the titles to these diminished reserves be placed by patent, as fully under the protection of the courts as are the titles of all other of our people to their land. I would not, in reducing the reservations, so reduce them as to leave to the Indians only an area that would suffice for an equal number of whites. Their attachment to kin and tribe is stronger than among civilized men, and I would so arrange that the Indian father of to-day might have assurance that his children as well as himself could have a home. I would also provide in the patent for the reservations, that so long as the title to any portion of the reservation remained in the tribe, adult Indians of the tribe who would locate upon and improve particular portions of the reservation, should have absolute title to the parcels so improved by them; and I would provide against alienation either by the tribe of the tribal title, or by individuals of their personal title for a limited time. As an additional inducement for heads of families to take land in severalty and engage in farming, provision should be made to aid such of them as do so, in building houses thereon. The sum of \$50, carefully expended by a judicious agent, will enable the Indian on many of the reservations with his own labor to build a house as comfortable as those occupied by many of our frontier settlers, and much more comfortable than the lodges in which they have been accustomed to live; and when so situated in his own house, on his own land, with a beginning made in the way of farming, a feeling of personal ownership and self-reliance will be developed and produce good results. And in building houses, preference should be given to those who have selected land in severalty and made a certain improvement thereon, and the offer of such aid should be held out as an inducement so to do. If a liberal sum was placed in the control of the Indian Office every year, to be expended for this purpose exclusively, the effect would be excellent. A wise liberality in this direction would, in my judgment, be true economy. * * *

The tribal relation is a hindrance to individual progress. It means communism so far at least as land is concerned. It interferes with the administration of both civil and criminal law among the members



Very truly Yours
H. Price

of the tribe, and among the members of the tribe and non-members. The Indians should learn both to know the law and to administer it. They will not become law-abiding citizens until they shall so learn. In my judgment it would be well to select some tribe, or tribes among those most advanced in civilization, and establish therein a form of local government as nearly like as may be to the system of county government prevailing in the State or Territory in which the reservations are situated, allowing the Indians to elect corresponding county officers, having corresponding power and authority to enforce such laws of the State or Territory as Congress may deem proper to declare in force on each reservation for local purposes. Should the experiment prove successful it would, I think, be a long step forward in the path the Indian must travel, if he ever shall reach full and intelligent citizenship. The ballot and trial by jury are tools to which Indian hands are not accustomed, and would doubtless be used by them awkwardly for a time, but if the Indian is to become in truth a citizen he must learn to use them, and he cannot learn to use them till they are placed within his reach. It is better to move in the right direction, however slowly and awkwardly, than not to move at all.

At the suggestion of the Secretary, Hiram Price was made Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and it was a most excellent appointment. Having been one of his aids, and a most helpful one, some twenty years before in assisting to raise, subsist, equip and send to the front Iowa's volunteer soldiers, he demonstrated his abilities and worth, which were fully appreciated by Governor Kirkwood.

Many were the hours these two faithful officers spent together, at times long into the night, advancing the work pertaining to their offices, after all the other officers and clerks had worked their allotted hours.

To solve a vexed question in the mind of the Secretary of the Interior, during President Garfield's sickness, the following correspondence was had:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, }
WASHINGTON, September 1, 1881. }

My Dear Sir:—Thank you for your letter of 22nd ult. I have quietly enquired of different members of the Cabinet concerning Mr. Hale, and all of them who know him or know of him, speak of him in the highest terms. Your own opinion would satisfy me. As you say the President knowing him personally, of course his opinion must be final.

By the way, what can be done touching the President's present condition? Should he recover, as I think he will, it will probably be some weeks before he can attend to any business. The appointment of a Commissioner of Rail Roads, and other appointments in this office, should be made, but cannot as matters now stand.

Will you kindly favor me with your opinion on the following points:

1. Does the President's condition constitute "inability." If yea,
2. Can the President being mentally sound, declare himself unable, physically, to discharge his duties, and call on the V. P. to perform them until his recovery? If yea,
3. Can he upon his recovery declare the same, and resume his duties.

I would answer the 1st question in the affirmative. I think an Act of Congress the more regular way as to 2nd and 3rd.

It looks to me as if the matter must be met in some way, and I would much like your opinion on the whole question.

Very truly,

Hon. Geo. F. Edmunds,

S. J. KIRKWOOD.

Burlington, Vermont.

BURLINGTON, Vermont. }
September 3, 1881. }

My Dear Sir:—I have yours of the 1st. I was sure that no one who knew him would say anything but good of Judge Hale.

As to the President, I still very much fear he cannot get through, unless indeed, he can be got into new and more stimulating air. In that case I should have strong hope. I would lay a temporary track right up to the south door of the White House, and run the car right up to it, and so have only one move.

In regard to your three questions, I have no doubt whatever, and if the office were president of a corporation or general of the army, I do not think anyone would have any. The words of the constitution are as clear as the English language can make such a matter. The people who made the constitution had common sense, and they expected that those who were to carry on the government would also have it. Of course Congress can make rules of evidence of any fact named in the constitution; it clearly cannot make decisions conclusive of such a fact, other than as political recognition of one man or another as President, even if it can do that. But when it has made rules of evidence, somebody must apply them, which would leave the case practically where it is now. That the President is unable to perform his official duties I suppose all agree; if he is able he is guilty of a grave offence in not performing them; but every civilized being on the face of the whole earth knows that he is not guilty of any offense whatever, and that the executive duties go unperformed because he is physically unable to attend to any of them. The right and duty of the

Vice-President to do the needful things pending this inability is to my mind absolutely clear. He does [not?] thereby become President for a moment. He, as *Vice-President*, is to perform the duties when the President is in a state of *inability*; but the President is still President, and would remain so if he were insane for the whole four years, and surely there cannot be *two* Presidents at once! But the *only* way for a living President to leave office is to resign or be removed on impeachment. It is absurd, therefore, to suppose that General Garfield is deposed when General Arthur performs an executive duty in such cases, or that the Vice-President can continue to perform a moment longer than the inability of the President lasts. When the inability exists, the Vice-President may do what the President cannot. Timid patriots at once say then, how do we know there is an inability? How do we know there is death? I answer. No tribunal decides it. It is merely a notorious fact, less open to dispute usually in mere degree than is a case of inability. In this case the common sense of responsible men must decide it for the time being, and bear whatever of peril there may be in it. If the President, being conscious of his present inability to do his official duties, were to say so to the Vice-President, and request him to act in the meantime, as a matter of delicacy, everything would be smooth, and the public would not get excited. In case the Vice-President is to act he should *not* take the oath prescribed for the President in the constitution, for he is not President, and his oath as Vice-President covers it all, for one of his duties and functions as Vice-President is to perform the President's duties in this case. Of course if he did take that oath it would not change his legal status a hair. I therefore answer all your three questions emphatically in the affirmative.

In the first days of the republic congress did all it thought it well could in such matters by providing that the only evidence of "resignation" should be a writing to that effect, filed in the office, I think, of the Secretary of State, (I have not the statute before me.) Congress no doubt thought that formal proof of death need not be made, for that might leave a space of time before the Vice-President could act; and the same as to inability, and further consideration that it is well nigh impossible to lay down a rule of evidence that would be safe, or create a tribunal of *decision*. The Constitution evidently (except in impeachment) did not intend to give any particular body of men the power to suspend the President, etc. But a resignation implies a President *capable* of exercising judgment and will, and so it could say he must do it by a particular form of evidence. He might not be *able* to do it in a case of inability, and even he might be unwilling to do it in an instance absolutely plain and urgent. So our wise forefathers left it as a great public fact, to be acted upon easily and smoothly in cases of patriotic harmony; and if other cases should unhappily arise, to be

acted upon by the Vice-President at the peril of the guilt of usurpation, etc., if an inability did not exist, and to be acted on (in supposable cases,) by the President at the peril of the guilt of misconduct in office, when he would neither do the duties himself nor allow the Vice-President to do them.

Very truly yours,

Hon. S. J. Kirkwood,

GEO. F. EDMUNDS.

Washington, D. C.

The death of President Garfield and the reorganization of the cabinet by President Arthur sent Mr. Kirkwood out of the cabinet, after being there but thirteen months. When he left his seat in the Senate to take that position, he assured Mr. Wilson, his prospective successor, that at no time would he be in his way in obtaining that place. This assurance was given upon the supposition that he would remain four years in the Garfield cabinet. As the election for Senator was not to take place till after it was known, or at least supposed that Governor Kirkwood would retire from the cabinet a strong desire manifested itself among his friends in Iowa, that he should be sent back to the Senate, and at his request he was retained in the cabinet till the Senatorial question was settled in Mr. Wilson's favor. This retention was for the purpose of avoiding complications in the Senatorial election making his assurance good to Mr. Wilson, and promoting his election.

Upon his retirement, a newspaper correspondent relates this incident :

"Within a week one of the law clerks in his office prepared for the Secretary's signature a decision in a land case—deciding in accordance with the strict letter of the law. The Secretary went into the clerk's room and inquired into the particulars of the matter in question. 'That's the law' said the clerk, turning to the statutes covering the case. 'That may be' said the Secretary, 'but I tell you this man meant trickery, and the man who in his ignorance failed to live up to the letter of the law, meant honestly, and I don't propose to be p trickery get the better of honesty, we must find some other sort of law.' And they did—and gave honesty its just dues, and trickery its deserved punishment. But Kirkwood was more than an honest man, he was a kind hearted man. His heart was large enough to sympathize with all humanity. A delegation of Chocktaws had been in

Washington for some time, trying to get certain favors and grants which would give them an advantage over the Chickasaws, their nearest neighbors and co-occupants of the same reservation in the Indian Territory. After listening to their application the Secretary said: 'Are any of you gentlemen engaged in raising cattle?' Oh! yes, several of them were. 'Well, how do you treat your cattle? Do you feed and shelter and care for the fat and strong fellows, and leave the weak, poor and scrawny ones to take care of themselves, exposed to the weather to starve and be run over and trampled to death?' Of course there could be but one answer. Thereupon, the Secretary replied: 'These Chickasaws, you say, are few in number; they are poor; they haven't the money even to send a delegation here to watch and take care of their own interests, so we must do it for them.' Of all the employees in the department, none received any but kindly and appreciative words from its head. Young Ryan, the Irish boy in the Secretary's office, who puts the Secretary's letters into final shape through the 'typewriter' summed up the case in a nutshell, when he remarked to me with tears in his eyes: 'I worked faithfully for Schurz for four years, and he never said a kindly word to me, but during the year I have worked for Kirkwood he has never given me a harsh word, and never a day without a pleasant one.' All through the department his loss is felt like a personal bereavement."

The New York *Tribune* has this to say in regard to the retirement :

"Expressions of good-will are heard on all sides in Washington, regarding the retiring Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Kirkwood. After a quarter of a century of public service, either for his State or the nation, he carries into retirement the universal respect of those who have known him, or have had official dealings with him whether political opponents or associates. If he has made mistakes they are forgotten. If he leaves enemies, they are unknown as such. Obstinate to a fault when his mind is made up, he possesses that spirit of fairness which forbids rash or unjust decisions, and a keen power of analysis which enables him to master quickly and with rare accuracy subjects brought before him. This obstinacy with him has been accounted a virtue. * * * During his year of incumbency of the Secretaryship, there has not been a whisper of irregularity in any branch of the department. At first he was overwhelmed by the pressure of appointment to office, a large number of newly created vacancies then existing in the department. These matters disposed of, he turned his attention to more important affairs and having no hobbies to ride or pet theories to carry out, very soon mastered the work before him. There have been stories to the effect that the work of the department has been getting behindhand, but these were unfounded."

Assistant Attorney-General McCammon, through whose office the important appeal cases and law questions come to the Secretary, says that never before in the same time have so many decisions been reached and so many vexed questions put to rest. His successor, Mr. Teller, is himself one of Governor Kirkwood's personal admirers, and said to the correspondent of the *Tribune* to-day, that his predecessor's popularity and efficiency rendered the assumption of the duties of Secretary by himself a formidable task."

A correspondent over the signature "Bessie Beech" in making some pen and ink etchings of the ladies of the cabinet has this to say of Mrs. Secretary Kirkwood :

"Her face makes one feel kindly and happy every time it is looked upon. Her sweet, motherly ways, low toned, pleasant voice, mild, brown colored eyes and dark hair combed smoothly over her serene brow and countenance is full of matronly grace and goodness. We are sure her husband was never crossed in his blessed life. Even his pet cigar is respected by his wife. It rests one to meet these women who are strong in the highest essentials of patience, prudence and the rich experience of a happy and complete home life."

A correspondent of the Chicago *Times*, writing from Iowa City some six years ago says :

"Mrs. Kirkwood is a gray-haired woman, with a matronly face and an expression of great amiability lighting up her regular features. She is quiet, domestic in her tastes, keenly sensitive in all that relates to her husband, and a devoted believer in his splendid abilities. The two seem to enjoy a perfect harmony in their lives, through a union of which he supplies strength, firmness, active energy, and she sympathetic appreciation, implicit confidence and an unswerving support."

Within a few months after Governor Kirkwood left President Arthur's Cabinet, he was made President of the Iowa City National Bank, which position he held for six years, dividing the labors and salary of the office with the vice-President, Mr. Geo. W. Lewis, when his absence or health did not permit him to perform them himself.

In the summer of 1883, Governor Kirkwood and Messrs. Dutcher and Gilkerson of New York were appointed Commissioners on the part of the Government, to examine and report upon the construction of an additional 45 miles of the

California and Oregon R. R., then being constructed between San Francisco and Portland, Oregon, by a corporation who had a grant of Government land for that purpose. The Governor added pleasure to business, taking his wife with him on his extended trip, going out by the Northern Pacific from St. Paul to Tacoma, thence to Portland, returning by way of San Francisco over the Central and Union Pacific roads.

Being met after his return home by a newspaper correspondent he said :

"I want you to say this through the *Tribune*, that I very heartily wish that the young men of the East who are rushing to Europe for their summer recreation, would instead turn their direction westward and take the trip I have just taken. I met some young men from New York who were making the trip, and they found it preferable to transatlantic travel, not only for sight seeing in the real grandeur of nature and a delightful climate, but for observation of localities which present fine opportunities for the application of muscle, and brains, and capital, in the development of the grandest and richest country on the globe, and the accumulation of wealth as well."

When at Tacoma on the 3d of August a reception was tendered by the citizens of the town to Mr. C. B. Wright, a member of the party, an eastern capitalist who had by his energy and means during the last decade, done much for the development of the country and the building up of the town, in the expenditure of his money.

After the address of welcome and the response, Mr. Dutcher and Gov. Kirkwood were called upon for speeches. Gen. Sprague, the master of ceremonies, in introducing Gov. Kirkwood, said: "Gov. Kirkwood was the War Governor of his State, and as I know there are several Iowa soldiers here to-night, I am sure that their hearts will warm at the sight of their old leader and protector."

GOVERNOR KIRKWOOD'S SPEECH.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I am at a loss to know what to say to you on this occasion, seeing that I come among you a total stranger. When I met my good friend Mr. Dutcher at St. Paul, I

remarked to him that his education had been sadly neglected, as he had never been west of the Mississippi river. [Laughter.] I look upon this Great West as the great center of the education of the people of this country. Not, of course, in the matter of mere book learning, but in that which makes book learning practically available. Let me make myself understood. East of the Alleghany mountains we have a large population and much wealth. The two extremes, the northeast and the southeast, are somewhat divided in habits, manners and customs. Boston, the center of the northeast portion, pretends to a higher degree of culture, and its people claim to be possessed of a much greater degree of polish than we western folks can pretend to. They come, however, to us and get educated west of the Mississippi river. You must know that the true Bostonian sun rises behind Plymouth Rock, stops for a time over Faneuil Hall in Boston, and sets near the mouth of Hoosic Tunnel. But when we get a Bostonian out here, knock a little of the nonsense out of him and rub the varnish off, we find him to be made of true, tough, solid fibre underneath and to be by no means a man of veneer. He turns out a pushing, energetic and useful citizen.

Let us look at the other side for a moment—I mean the Virginian. He believes the sun rises at the head of Chesapeake Bay, pauses and takes off its hat as it passes Mt. Vernon where Washington died, and sets somewhere on the Kanawha river. He is troubled with the idea that all the Virginians are of the very first families. After he comes out here among us western people and gets his hair cut, we soon succeed in convincing him that we here are all of the best families. By and by he, too, gets the nonsense knocked out of him and he develops into an honest, earnest, hospitable man. You are all aware that some time ago they were a little off color. But now they have come back again and are behaving themselves very decently indeed.

This Great West I regard as the grand college, the university where the great subject taught is common sense. But this is not all we do here. Let us look for a moment at what else is being done. In the country where I live, which I wish to remark is the finest State in the whole Union, [laughter] though I am free to own that Washington Territory when it has become a State may equal it, we have representatives of all the master nations in the world. We have Norwegians, we have Danes, we have Swedes, we have Scotch, Welsh, Irish, English, French, Hollanders, (of whom my friend Mr. Dutcher is a specimen), Germans in all their various families, and Bohemians; and yet we live in peace, order and quietness. When they come to us in middle age we cannot make much impression upon them. But their children grow up with ours, go to school with them, fall in love with them and marry them, and the result is we are building up a new race which I hope will have all the good qualities of their mixed ancestry,

and we hope to be able to strike out all their bad qualities. We are rearing the typical American, the Western Yankee if you choose to call him so, the man of grit, the man of nerve, the man of broad and liberal views, the man of tolerance of opinion, the man of energy, the man who some day will dominate this empire of ours, which will in the coming years embrace the whole of this North American Continent. [Applause.]

This is what I mean by calling it the great educational center of the country, and to-night I see before me, unless I greatly mistake, good material to begin with. You must have had energy, courage and enterprise to have left your homes in other countries and States to have come here to face the trials and difficulties attendant upon settlement in a comparatively new country.

Man is possessed of physical, mental and moral qualities. By exercise and use we develop our physical strength, and the same is true of our mental and moral powers. The use of them makes us robust and strong, whereas non-use weakens and dwarfs us. There is, of course, no fear of the weakening of the mental powers of you here present.

I suppose you all came out here after the almighty dollar, [laughter] a pursuit which tends greatly to mental acuteness and power. But does it develop the best part of man's nature? I do not believe it does. It is not difficult to develop our moral qualities, with special reference to ourselves; only those must be developed which look to the interests of our neighbors. If they are not, that part of our moral nature of which they are a portion will be infallibly dwarfed.

You have before you to-night a commendable example of the equal and well regulated development of both the mental and moral qualities of his nature, in the man whom to honor you have assembled here. He has passed an active business life and amassed great wealth, but he has not been forgetful of the fact that this wealth imposes duties upon him, and those duties he has performed. Thus he is filling out a well-rounded life.

East of the Alleghany mountains the only idea of a well-balanced man which the people have is one who parts his hair in the middle. [Laughter.] I need hardly say that this is an erroneous opinion. The well-balanced man is developed all over, is not lop-sided. By carefully developing your mental, moral and physical qualities, not neglecting or doing injustice to one or the other of them, you will attain not only success in life but happiness as well; in short, you will come very near being *Wright*. [Laughter and loud applause.]

Mr. Dutcher was then introduced and spoke as follows:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I thank you heartily for this opportunity of mingling with you on the occasion, when you are gathered together to show your feelings of respect, love and honor to

Mr. C. B. Wright. I must acknowledge it is somewhat embarrassing for a plain Dutchman like myself, [laughter] to be called upon so suddenly to speak upon matters of vital importance. My friend, Governor Kirkwood, the man of large and varied experience, has given you such an amount of good advice, that I think I will hardly venture anything in that line. I have to admit that I come under the class of Eastern well balanced men, so facetiously mentioned by him, for (stroking his bald head) my hair is very much parted in the middle. [Laughter.] I would like, however, to make one slight correction in the description which the President gave of me. I am not a lawyer, nor the son of a lawyer, but only a plain Dutchman, whose education has been neglected, for I was never until now west of the Mississippi river. I thought Governor Kirkwood had an idea that the sun rose out of the Mississippi river, passed over the Capital city, and set on the western border of Iowa, and that his education had been neglected, but when he mentioned his belief that Washington Territory might yet equal Iowa, I was satisfied that I might be mistaken. I shall carry home with me most pleasing recollections. Our journey over the Rockies, down the Columbia to Portland, from there to the neighborhood of the California boundary and then back to reach this point, has given me memories which I cannot, and would not if I could, forget. I have seen considerable of the country, and my impressions have been in every instance of the most pleasing description. Not only have we been all pleased with the coast, but we have formed the highest possible opinion of the energy, perseverance and thrift of the men, and of the beauty, health and grace of the women. [Applause.]

The Governor and myself being as you see, boys, have come to the conclusion that we cannot do better than settle down here and grow up with the country, and I doubt not Mr. Gilkerson will soon make up his mind to follow us. [Laughter and applause.] The great work now carried to completion in this grand inter-oceanic highway, considered in connection with the difficulties that had to be surmounted, few of us here can appreciate. In times of war we hear of great generals who snatch victory from the very grasp of defeat; who rally the shattered and fugitive forces, and by the example of their own personal courage and bravery turn into conquest, what threatened to be an utter and irretrievable rout. We have heard of gallant soldiers who did not know when they were whipped, and it is well that poets should sing their praises, and historians hand down the record of their noble deeds as an example to future generations. We can measure the courage and nerve needed to perform such deeds as these, and we can appreciate at its true value the individual bravery of the soldier and his leader, who braves and overcomes what wears all the appearance of certain defeat. We can admire the heroism of the officer, who, at the head of his column, dashed forward with the shout,

"Come on, brave boys, let us retake the lost positions." But let me tell you it is far harder to estimate the courage needed to seize on a financial wreck, and by consummate energy, judgment and determination make it again seaworthy. There is nothing harder to restore than the confidence of a capitalist when once it is shaken. In the words of one who is thoroughly acquainted with the subject by long experience, "There is nothing more cowardly in the world than a million of dollars, unless it be two millions of dollars." There is nothing so timid as capital, and when a man has achieved such a triumph as to restore forfeited confidence in such a gigantic enterprise as the Northern Pacific Railroad, and by dint of energy and mature judgment carries that enterprise to a triumphant completion, there is no material too enduring, and no monument too costly to serve as a memorial of his merits. Mr. Wright, when capitalists had lost all hope, put his shoulder to the wheel, laid broad and deep the foundations of this grand work, and then a gleam of the light of hope shone upon it, the enterprise prospered as if by magic, and now that its completion is virtually an accomplished fact, it is pleasant for us to meet him on such an occasion as the present, when such a large and representative audience is met here to do him honor. * * *

A man has no conception of this country, of its vast area, its glorious diversified scenery, or the practically boundlessness of its resources until he leaves the Atlantic Coast, crosses the Alleghany mountains, passes through Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa, over the Rockies into this very Garden of Eden on the Pacific Coast. I entirely agree with Governor Kirkwood in his opinion, that until a man has made this journey his education is not complete. * * * This grand country of mountains, rivers, highways and harbors—this land of colleges, churches and common schools the strength of our great Republic [applause] *is ours*. We have a people full of charity, benevolence and liberality, and in speaking of their greatness, the vastness of their wealth which finds a channel through their charity and liberality, we are to remember that to the working man we owe much, very much of it all. The hardy son of toil is the very backbone and strength of the country. But in saying this we are not to forget to do justice to the capitalist, who by industry and sagacity, has amassed wealth, and who, at the critical moment, throws it all into the balance, risking it all to save a great enterprise, and thus enabling labor to accomplish conjointly with capital what it never could have attempted without it.

The results of all this great work are ours, for they have become identified with this glorious country which is our inheritance.

Ours by the patriot's holy love,
 Ours by his deathly throe;
 Ours by the starry flag above,
 Ours by the blood below.

Ours by the freeman's titled deed
To the land of liberty;
Ours for the freeman's sacred creed,
Ours for humanity.

Ours from the placid Western sea,
To the Emerald Eastern slopes;
Ours by our fathers' history,
Ours for our children's hopes.

Ours from the North lakes crystal waves
To the silvery Southern foam;
Ours by the changeless right of graves,
Ours for the lives to come.

Ours by the homes that deck the land,
Ours by the pathways trod,
Ours by the ages' stern demand,
Ours by the gift of God.

[Prolonged applause.]



CHAPTER XXI.

Interviewed in San Francisco—The Indian Question Again—Favors Blaine for President—Takes the Stump for Him—Is Nominated for Congress—Accepts—His Letter of Acceptance—Hiram Price for Him—Speech at Muscatine.

When in San Francisco, Gov. Kirkwood was met by a representative of the *Chronicle*, who drew this pen picture of him, and to whom was accorded an interview:

“S. J. Kirkwood, Secretary of the Interior under President Garfield, who arrived in the city from the North on last Thursday, is a comfortable looking man of apparently 60 years of age, though in reality he is almost 70. He wears plain clothes, constructed on liberal allowances for a figure but little under six feet, weighing about 180 and which tends but slightly to corpulency; the face is full, benevolent, intelligent with rugged, expressive features and framed by gray galways. The forehead is high and square, and does not extend to the back of the neck, as the ex-Secretary has still a good growth of iron gray hair. The gentleman seems to have an aversion to all kinds of ornament, for on his portly person the only thing that approaches jewelry, is a steel watch chain. Unassuming as his clothes, so are also his manners, and when a *Chronicle* reporter called upon him he accorded an interview most readily. ‘Don’t ask for news, for I have none,’ he said, ‘I came through a country where such a thing is not known, and have not had a chance to read the papers in order to see how the world is getting on.’

‘Have you read the account of Sheridan’s new Indian policy in connection with the President’s visit to the Shoshone Reservation, in to-day’s paper?’

‘No I have not.’

‘But you have opinions concerning the oft-mooted plan of transferring the Indians to the War Department?’

‘Well yes, I have had something to do with the Indian policy of the country, and can’t very well deny that I have formed certain ideas. One of these is that the army ought not to be charged with the guardianship of the Indians. You see the end and aim of every Indian policy must be to make civilized people out of the savages. Now that can be done only by teaching them to work. But the Indian is not a born worker, and it is difficult to make him do that. He is a hunter, and a warrior. He knows nothing of personal property rights, except

in connection with his arms and his ponies. The avowed policy of the Interior Department has been to train him and teach him by confiding his management to people from whom he can take an example.'

'Has not the example been a failure?'

'Pretty generally I admit. We have succeeded in making paupers out of the Indians, by trying to help them, and paupers are the most difficult class of all to reform. The worst thing you can do is to help a man who can, and won't help himself. The Interior Department is supposed to have furnished examples and opportunities to initiate them only, but in reality it has gone much further. If the change to the War Department is made, the endeavors to make workers out of the red men will cease of themselves. The army officers will tell the Indian that he must work, and the Indian will ask in return, 'Why don't you work?' 'Oh! we are soldiers and warriors,' our noble men of the army will reply, 'And so are we,' the red men will say and that will end it. The army can make targets out of the Indians, but it can't turn them into agriculturists.'

'Then do you think that the Interior Department has been successful in its policy and management.'

'No, I won't say that. As I have already said, a great many of the Indian tribes have been effectually pauperized. Some tribes however have been reclaimed and have become fairly good citizens. The success of the policy depends a great deal upon the agents, some of whom are good and some are very bad. But I am satisfied that the War Department will never solve the Indian question, unless it solves it with powder and ball, which would be more of a dissolution than a solution.'" * * *

The interview covered the Land Grant question and the question of corporations in politics which were fully discussed and concluded with:

" 'Do you think the monopoly issue will enter largely into the next Presidential canvass?'

'Well no. Both parties are committed to the doctrine of corporate control. I think the tariff issue will be far more important. People feel pretty strongly on that question in the east. The anti-monopoly question has not yet developed far enough, to come to the front, though I think it would come fast enough if the railroads were as arrogant, grasping and unjust in the east as they are said to be here.' "

The nomination of James G. Blaine as a candidate for President on the Republican ticket in 1884 was most gratifying to Gov. Kirkwood, as he believed him to be the best selection that could have been made, and he took the stump

in the advocacy of his election, making speeches to large audiences at Muscatine, Washington and various other places in the State.

The following is a partial report by the *Muscatine Journal* of the speech made at Muscatine:

"Mr. Mahin introduced Gov. Kirkwood as our esteemed and distinguished War Governor, the personal friend of the lamented Garfield and the Senatorial and Cabinet associate of James G. Blaine.

"Gov. Kirkwood began his address with the statement that the United States will in November next elect a President, and he was here to give one of his 'plain talks.' During the day he had visited the extensive saw mills and lumber yards of the city, and this thought occurred to him. Suppose this whole great lumber interest of the city was to be placed in the hands of a single superintendent and two candidates for the position appeared, W. J. Young, and a smart young lawyer or doctor of the town. Would anyone hesitate as to the one which should be appointed? No matter how intelligent or active the latter might be, he certainly could possess no qualification equaling those of Mr. Young, whose years have been devoted closely, consecutively and successfully to this business. His superior fitness and training over his younger and inexperienced rival would be readily apparent to all.

"The choice between Cleveland and Blaine is a parallel one. This is a great country, with fifty-five millions of people, vast resources and boundless possibilities. It collects and disburses annually a revenue of four hundred millions of dollars. It requires years of study and effort and a great mind to comprehend the duties of Chief Executive. Compare Cleveland and Blaine in this respect. Scarcely six months ago Cleveland was comparatively unknown. He had been sheriff of a county, and in filling those duties he insisted on personally performing a disagreeable duty, that would bring on the country, if he were elected, the reproach of having a hangman for a President. He had been promoted to Mayor of a city, then to Governor of a State in time of peace, and that is all. It is said of him that he has never been in the city of Washington, nor west of the city of Cleveland, O. [Laughter.] 'Why bless my soul,' continued the speaker, in a burst of pleasant zeal, 'he has no complete education. [Continued laughter.] No man has who has not traveled the length and breadth of this land and grasped an idea of its tremendous extent. Cleveland never served in any legislative body.'

"If you want a watch repaired do you go to a blacksmith?—no matter how much more brains he may have than the jeweler who makes that his trade. If you want a horse shod, do you go to a jeweler?—no

matter how much more learned he may be than the blacksmith? You apply to that man who has made that work his business and has knowledge and capacity therefor. Blaine is a statesman by long practice and experience. You cannot read the history of this country for the past twenty years—twenty years of our greatest National prosperity, without reading the history of James G. Blaine. He began political life in his own State, and was Speaker of the popular branch of the General Assembly, and afterwards sent to Congress as representative to the United States Senate, and finally appointed to the cabinet of President Garfield. He has twenty years of training in the very direction necessary to make an able President. Even his bitterest enemies concede his great ability.

"The speaker served with Blaine in the Senate four years, and became with him a member of Garfield's Cabinet, and he therefore spoke from experience. He alluded feelingly for a few moments to the close friendship and daily intercourse of the cabinet during the President's long illness. He personally knew Blaine to be an honest man, and he defied anyone to successfully controvert the assertion. The speaker citing his own record and confidence always placed in him by the people of Iowa, solemnly assured his hearers of his great admiration for and perfect trust in Blaine, who was eminently fitted to take charge of the affairs of the nation.

"*'Mr. Blaine,'* he said, *'was not a saint, and the man who smites him on the one cheek is quite likely to get his response 'straight from the shoulder.'* He has brains enough to have convictions, and courage enough to announce those convictions and to stand by and defend them. He has also that higher and better courage that enables him to see and admit the fact, when in error. He does not seek controversy, neither does he shun duty. In every fibre of his being he is an American, [prolonged applause] and he believes in making this country the greatest, strongest, richest and best nation in the world.'

"It is charged that Blaine is a reckless man and may drive this country into ruin. This charge is entirely unfounded.

"The speaker here read extracts from British newspapers to show that the chief fear across the ocean is that Blaine's policy would build up American commerce to the detriment of that of Great Britain, and that what Americans most want foreign countries least desire. He showed how the trade of this country with South America passes through English channels, when it should be carried on direct. *'We should do nothing to uphold British trade, when they do nothing to advance our commercial interests.'*

"The speaker then took up the Democratic platform and showed that the clause favoring American continental interests was a bold larceny from the Republicans.

"Just after Blaine's nomination the Democracy began abusing him

for his South American policy, until they saw the effect on the masses and then they suddenly dropped their opposition and cunningly stole that very plank and put it in their own platform in order to catch votes!

"The Democratic platform also favors 'free ballot and a free count.' This, also, is the very height of impudence, in view of the notorious perversions of the ballot box by that party in the South. We know, and they know we know, that South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana would be Republican to-day with 'a free ballot and a fair count.' The speaker was a member of the Teller Investigating Committee four years ago, and spoke from actual knowledge. He spent weeks in New Orleans and Charleston personally and officially investigating the frauds, and found that the elections had been a perfect farce. Voters were prevented by all sorts of means, including murder, from expressing their preferences at the polls. He related how the colored minister Fairfax had to be smuggled to Washington by this thus humiliated National Committee in time of peace, in order to give him personal safety while giving important testimony. The Democratic platform simply lies!

"The method of voting by tissue ballots was next explained, the speaker folding a slip of paper and illustrating minutely just how it was done, and how judges avoid abstracting the tissue ballots when more votes are found in the box than there are names on the list and the excess is reduced by drawing. In one precinct the committee found six hundred more votes had been returned than there were voters!

"But for these Southern outrages and tissue ballots, the Republicans could not only carry the three States named but would have a fighting chance in Alabama, Florida, North Carolina and West Virginia.

"The tariff plank of the Democratic platform was referred to, but the speaker confessed his inability to tell what it meant. The plank just suits all classes of Democrats, Protectionists and Free Traders alike. It was made by a committee embracing such Free Traders as Watterson of Kentucky, Morrison of Illinois, and Frank Hurd of Ohio; and such ardent Protectionists as Randall of Pennsylvania, and Converse of Ohio. The plank is ridiculously insincere and unreliable, and honest voters should not allow themselves to be caught with such chaff.

"The Republican platform speaks squarely against polygamy in Utah, that foul blot on our country's honor, but on this vital point the Democratic platform is silent.

"Young men were advised to study the history of the two great political parties; to remember the war and the sacrifices of thousands of brave lives in defence of our country; to note that every single measure for putting down the rebellion and reconstructing the affairs and finances of the country was violently opposed by the

Democracy; that the latter had been tireless in their attempts to secure amnesty to rebel leaders and the traitors of the war, and that the only two great measures they had ardently favored since they obtained control of Congress in 1874, were to restore Jeff Davis and Fitz John Porter to the full favor of their countrymen. [Continued applause.]

After devoting a few moments more to the tariff by request, in which he argued logically the right and the duty of the government to impose taxes on imports, to discriminate as to what articles should be admitted free or taxed, and to take other proper measures to protect American labor and American industries, the Governor thanked his large audience, which dispersed amid music by the band and a prevalence of satisfaction over the address."

During the political canvass of 1886, Judge Hayes having been nominated for Congress in the Second Congressional District, T. J. O'Meara, who had been a Democrat was put in nomination for the same office by a convention of the Knights of Labor, and as the district was overwhelmingly Democratic, many Republicans thought it best not to make any nomination, but to endorse the nomination of Mr. O'Meara. The Republicans of the district in their Congressional Convention divided upon this question, those in favor of making a Republican nomination issued an address to the Republican voters of the district, and placed in nomination Samuel J. Kirkwood. That nomination was accepted by him in the following letter:

IOWA CITY, Aug. 30, 1886.

Hon. J. C. Shrader,

Chairman Republican Congressional Committee,

Second District of Iowa:

I have read with much interest and care the address of the committee appointed by the convention of which you were chairman, explaining the unfortunate division of opinion that arose in the full convention and results in its divided action.

The address does not seek to excuse or apologize for the action of that portion of the convention over which you presided, but boldly, but temperately justifies it. I fully concur in the reasoning and the conclusion of the address that those over whom you presided constituted the Republican convention, and therefore I address you as its chairman. The failure of the full convention to nominate some Republican as its candidate, was, in my judgment, a failure to execute

a highly important trust, a failure to perform a plain or imperative duty, a failure, the effect of which would have been to taint the good name of the Republican party with the bad odor of bargaining and trickery. I squarely deny the right and the power of a political delegate convention to compel its constituents either to lose their votes or to cast them for one not of their political faith. What would be thought of a Presbyterian synod that should elect as its representative in a Presbyterian General Assembly a Methodist presiding elder or bishop? I regret only that the necessity of the situation seemed finally to require my nomination. But some Republican was required to take up the burden, and as the choice fell upon me, I accept it cheerfully with whatever of responsibility may attach to the act, and shall do the best I can to justify the choice.

There are three candidates in the field, the Republican, the Democratic and the Knights of Labor candidates. But when we look beneath the surface are we not justified in saying that there are but two policies involved, the Republican and the Democratic?

What has been for the last quarter of a century the unpardonable, because the unrepented political sin of the Democratic party north and south? In the South it took form in the substitution of force and violence, of war and bloodshed in the place of argument, discussion and the ballot to rectify a supposed wrong in the election of Abraham Lincoln. In the North it took form in labored apologies for, and half-hearted justification of the course of the South, in efforts in some way to compromise a condition of affairs that did not admit of compromise. The vital principle of our form of government was involved, and that is, that men are capable of self-government; that where as in this country all male citizens are allowed to vote, they have intelligence enough to know how their welfare may be best promoted, and honesty enough to do what their intelligence dictates should be done. All admit, that at times grave errors may be committed, even great wrongs done, because men are human and fallible; but the earnest believer in man's capacity for self-government insists that the same honesty and intelligence, and honesty of purpose which may at times be misled, will eventually, after argument and discussion, discover where errors have been committed or wrongs have been done, and will gladly rectify and correct them.

If this is not true then our system of government must prove a failure, and he who in whatever interest or for whatever cause seeks to accomplish political ends by force and violence instead of argument and discussion and a free and fair ballot box, whether he so intends or not, strikes a direct blow not only at our system of government, but at the very foundation on which it rests. As I have said this fatal mistake of substituting force and violence for argument and discussion, has so saturated the Democratic party north and south, that it is

practiced by that party in some of the States, and is justified or excused in others, and hence Republicans oppose and must oppose them. The truth is that the Democratic party has been utterly unable to comprehend the great question growing out of the election of Mr. Lincoln, the war that followed, the reconstruction of the rebel States and the financial questions resulting from all these. It has contented itself with opposing and obstructing all the Republicans have endeavored to do, and have, in a measure, happily accomplished; and when something has been done they declared could not be done, or ought not to be done, they have generally when the thing was done, with more or less grace "accepted the situation" and sometimes claimed the credit of the act. But what, say the friends of the candidate of the Knights of Labor, has all this to do with us? Let us see. I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with Mr. O'Meara. He is said to be a reputable gentleman, whom any of his supporters would be willing to acknowledge as a fair representative of their character and respectability; without this they ought not to support him. But what does he stand for politically? What do the Knights of Labor stand for politically? And much more important yet, and by what method does he and the great organization of Knights propose to accomplish what they stand for? They are endeavoring to absorb various other labor organizations that have hitherto been independent of, and to some degree hostile to them. Before that can be accomplished it will be necessary for them to reconcile the wide difference existing in their own organization, and between them and those they seek to absorb, and until that shall have been done, no one can know what he endorses when he affiliates with them. Their professions of political faith have thus far come from small sections of the order, and these have been on many points vague and indefinite, until this year, as I understand, they have discountenanced political organization and action. Now they are organizing for political ends, entering the political field but with divided counsels and discordant action. In this district they consent to affiliate with us if we consent to abandon our organization and endorse their candidate. In the seventh district they march boldly into the Democratic camp. They have a perfect right to do these things, but they must not be surprised if thoughtful men hesitate to act with them, until they know more of their purposes and especially of their intended methods of accomplishing their purposes. As to their methods, so far as publicly shown, they are very unsatisfactory. Mr. Powderly and his adherents in the order advise orderly and peaceful methods in general, but claim somewhat vaguely that in case of "emergency" other methods may be necessary. What emergency? Mr. Irons and his adherents inaugurated and carried on a strike at and southwest of St. Louis during the current year, and we all know the methods then pursued. All admit their right to strike, but not

content with that they resorted to force, violence, riot and bloodshed, and for weeks the entire business of a large section of country was completely paralyzed by their action. A recent strike in Chicago has shown the same methods, but to a less extent. The Republican party cannot either directly or indirectly endorse such methods, and until the Knights have agreed among themselves as to what they want and how they propose to get it, it is not only prudent but imperative that we abstain from endorsement of or affiliation with the order.

One of the strangest features of the contest in this district is the eagerness with which certain members of our party endorse Mr. O'Meara. They have an intense dislike amounting to hate of Mr. Hayes, and they seem to think there is nothing important in the contest except to defeat him. They have been for the last two years past shouting themselves hoarse with denunciations of force and violence, rioting and murdering in our own State, but all of that has occurred in Iowa in two years is but a moderate gale compared to the tornado that swept over St. Louis during the recent strike there, and yet they appear not only willing to endorse the latter while continuing to denounce the former, but to denounce as not good Republicans all who do not join in with them.

I cannot and will not join with them. Republicanism, in my judgment, is not a mere temporary thing, but is to stand so long as our system of government shall stand, and in my judgment they will go down together, if go down they must. Republicanism stands for equal and exact justice to all men, for "the equality of all men before the law," for argument, discussion, open public discussion and the ballot, as opposed to force, violence, rioting, murder and rebellion, and so believing I am for Republicanism. The Republican party has done more during the thirty years of its existence for labor and the laboring man than any other political organization here or elsewhere has done in a century. It has done more for the cause of good order and the general welfare of our country, and for government of the people, by the people, and for the people, in this and other lands, than was done by any other party in a century, and it is continuing its good work slowly but steadily. It must move slowly because it moves on sixty millions of people, and sixty millions of people move slowly in time of peace. It has made mistakes because it is composed of fallible men, and has not always been able to correct its mistakes. But it is at times discouraging to find men who seem to think that whatever shall not be accomplished while they live will never be accomplished, blaming it for not having done more although it has already done so much, and deliberately planning in some of the States its destruction in the vain hope that they will build up a better and stronger organization.

But I must bring this letter to a close. I intended a text, I fear I am giving a sermon.

I think all who know me intimately, know that I not only did not seek your nomination, but consented reluctantly to accept it, if offered. It has been offered and I accept it, and I shall do my best to make the canvass a not wholly defensive one. But I must have help, and I call upon every man in the district and out of it, who believes as I believe, to be up and doing. Especially I call upon you young men who were unborn or babes or mere lads when Republicanism had its birth, to examine these matters carefully. I am making the fight not for myself but for you. I am fighting for that which your fathers fought for, and for that which you should see to it that your children shall enjoy. With your help the battle may be won, but be the result what it may, I shall feel I have done my duty. If your fathers had fought only when they were sure of victory, our late war might have ended otherwise than it did. There are worse things in this world than defeat in a good cause, and one of them is the knowledge that defeat might have been victory, if each man who desired victory had done his best to win it.

Very truly,

S. J. KIRKWOOD.

Hon. Hiram Price who had previously represented this district or a part of it in Congress was written to in regard to his support of the "Old War Governor" for Congress, and in reply, after discussing fully the condition of affairs in the district, says in conclusion:

"The Republican party has not only saved the nation politically and financially, but has been during all the years of its existence the firm and unswerving friend of the laboring classes, as a proof of which I point with pride to the tens of thousands of poor men throughout our country, who now own their own homes and farms, through the operation of the homestead law, given them through the action of the Republican party and which the Democratic party, though in power for fifty years, failed and refused to do.

"And now what of the standard bearer chosen by the Republicans to lead in the fore front of their advancing columns? Is it possible that you gentlemen who addressed to me those letters, could have any doubt as to my position? Don't you know that Gov. Kirkwood and I have been fast friends for more than a quarter of a century? Don't you know that I know he is one of the most clear-headed and honest-hearted men that Iowa can boast of? Don't you know that I know, that no man can serve the Second Congressional District better, and few as well as he can? Why, of course you know all these things, and must know that I am for him; he being the standard bearer of the Republican party. I know him better than you do, and thus knowing him I

am for him. I don't pretend that we always agreed upon all questions but we came as near it as any two men you can find who do their own thinking. I only wish that all the anti-Hayes men could be united on him, and thus send a man to Congress who would be a credit to the Second Congressional District."

The Illinois Peoria *Transcript* under the caption, "What kind of a man he is, and what kind of a campaign he makes," says:

"Sam Kirkwood has gone about his canvass for Congress in the Second Iowa District with that sound common sense that is his greatest trait. He says that there are grave doubts about his being elected. This shows his shrewdness as politician, as well as his rugged honesty. He was chosen to lead a forlorn hope, and he doesn't disguise from himself or his friends the prospect of defeat. He indulges in no loud mouthed assurances that he knows he cannot be sustained by a calm recount of the possibilities. Shrewd, Honest Old Sam! There is more hard meat underneath the skull of his exterior, than there is in a dozen of your soft shells, who mistake noise for argument, and self-confidence for ability. Blaine once said of him he would rather have Sam Kirkwood on his side before a Maine audience, than any public speaker he knew, because of his knack of pleasing and instructing the common people."

On the 24th of September Gov. Kirkwood opened the canvass in a speech made at Davenport, of which the following is a report. Hon. Jas. T. Lane introduced the speaker, who was greeted with round after round of applause, which assured him that he was a most welcome guest. When silence was restored he said:

Mr. Chairman and My Fellow Citizens:—In my letter accepting the nomination of the Republican Congressional Convention, I tried to show, and think I did show, that voters in this district who profess the Republican faith cannot consistently with that faith support either the Democratic or Knight of Labor candidate.

The reason assigned for this opinion was, that both these parties had shown by their acts, which speak louder than words, that they are willing when discussion and the ballot fail to accomplish their ends, to resort to force and violence instead; that force and violence to accomplish political ends have no proper place in our system of government, and that any party using or advocating or permitting the use of such means, should not be trusted.

I understand as such acts of the Democratic party the great civil

war through which we passed at such enormous cost of life and treasure, and the present denial of the right of suffrage to a large body of qualified voters in some of the States that were on the wrong side in the civil war. The rebellion against the verdict of the ballot was inaugurated and fought to the bitter end, by what was then the dominating element of the Democratic party; and the right of suffrage is to-day refused in some of the States to persons as lawfully entitled to its exercise, as we are, by the same element that again dominates that party. But it is now said that it is wrong to allude to these things at this day; that the war is over; that allusions to it only tend to perpetuate sectional strife; that all such allusions are in the cant phrase of the day, "Waving the bloody shirt."

Let us try to understand this matter. There was a right side and a wrong side in that bloody contest, was there not? Was not our side the right side, and if so, why is it wrong to say so?

If we were not in the right, then you soldiers instead of fighting that "Government of the people, and by the people, and for the people should not perish from the earth," were the willing tools of a base tyrant, and were trampling in the bloody mire of many a well fought battle field the aspirations of brave men, struggling to be free; which was you doing? But it is again said all this is past and gone, and all north and south are now agreed that we were right and they were wrong. Let us see; why do we erect statues and monuments in honor of the men who fought so bravely for the Union? Why do we go yearly to our cemeteries to decorate the graves of those of them who died so bravely for the Union? Why do the survivors hold the frequent reunions which they enjoy so much? Are not these things intended to, and do they not successfully teach to our young people that the cause for which their fathers fought was a just and holy cause? Now our southern brethren are erecting statues and monuments in honor of the men who fought so bravely to destroy the Union; they go yearly to the cemeteries to decorate the graves of their dead, who died to destroy it; they have reunions of the survivors of their soldiers who doubtless enjoy themselves as you enjoy yourselves. Now if these things, done among us have the effect of keeping alive the fire of patriotism that burnt so brightly twenty years ago, what must be the effects of similar acts done in the States lately in rebellion? I do not say that these things done there are *intended* to teach their young people that the cause for which their fathers fought was a just and holy one, but *must* it not, and *does* it not produce that effect?

May we not learn something on this point by considering the enthusiastic ovation given to Jefferson Davis in his recent triumphant journey from Alabama to South Carolina? I submit whether it is wise and safe to trust with the control of our government, a party whose dominating element now is the same that it was twenty-five

years ago, and that to-day deprives our and their fellow citizens of the ballot, to keep themselves in power. Will the Union soldiers who are Democrats permit a suggestion? Your voice if unitedly raised should be and would be potential in Democratic councils; why can you not send as delegates to the next Democratic National Convention, a number of yourselves, representative men to say to that body, this in substance: "We insist for the welfare of our country and our party that our platform shall declare that the citizens occupying *all* our States and Territories are citizens of *one* nation, and not merely citizens of as many independent sovereign nations, as there are or may be States in the Union; that the paramount allegiance of each citizen is due to the national government, and not to the State in which he may live; that the attempt of citizens of one or more States hereafter to dissolve the Union by force is treason." Is not this what you fought for? If so should you not stand bravely for it with the ballot, as you did with the bayonet? Concede to them freely that they believed they were right, and fought for their belief as bravely as men could fight; but having appealed their cause to the final great court of battle, over which God himself presides, and the judgment having gone against them, they are in honor bound to submit to that judgment and admit their error, and to say for themselves and their children and their children's children; that the case is closed forever. Have you not the right to ask this, and is it not your duty to ask it? And when this shall have been done, and what you strove so bravely for has been made sure, will it not be time for us to forget what we have so long since forgiven?

But why don't you talk to us of the present and not of the past, you say? I reply I know of no better way of determining what shall be done at the present, or in the future, then by a careful study of the past. But taking your narrow view of the present my Democratic friends, what is there to say? For eighteen months past you have had full possession of the Executive Department of our national government, and have had such power in the legislative department that nothing could be done without your consent; how do you like the result so far?

What were the party cries upon which you won the election in 1884?

You were told of the large amount of money held uselessly in the treasury, to the injury of the public, and told if you were placed in power, the Democratic administration would have it paid out on the public debt, and the financial pressure on the people relieved. Months passed during which time the amount of money in the treasury kept steadily increasing, and none of it was so paid out. About the time Congress met the mutterings of discontent became so ominous, that the Secretary of the Treasury felt compelled, very reluctantly, to yield and commenced payment of the public debt. But so suspicious had his party friends become of his earnestness in the matter, that a bill

was passed in the Democratic house taking from the Treasury Department the discretionary power under which Republican administrations had paid more than half our great debt, and making the continued payment of the debt compulsory. They were unwilling to trust their own administration with the discretion conferred upon Republican administrations. The Republican Senate concurred with the opinion of the House in the policy of continued payment of the debt, but willing to trust the administration further than its own friends in the House were, amended the bill giving large discretion to the Secretary of the Treasury, the bill went back to the House, the amendments were agreed to, and the bill went to the President for his consideration. What did he do? He did not veto the bill: had that been done it is almost certain it would have passed both Houses over his veto, but availing himself of his constitutional right to hold a bill for consideration for ten days, he held it until Congress adjourned before the ten days expired, and thus killed it by what is known as the pocket veto; and then as soon as Congress adjourned, the Treasury Department began to call bonds for payment with almost prodigal haste. The almost contemptuous treatment of Congress by the President would be amusing if it were not startling.

Until the President was inaugurated, a little over eighteen months ago, he had literally no experience or training in national public affairs. There are in both houses of Congress gentlemen of both political parties, who have had such experience and training for many years, and yet in some of his very numerous veto messages he lectures Congress for its carelessness and inattention to its business, with greater freedom than I felt at liberty to use towards my scholars when teaching in my young days in the country school houses.

You will remember my Democratic friends other cries used to induce you to vote for "reform;" you were told and retold and told again, that every department of the government was corrupt. This was told, and told, and told, until you heard and read it, got to believe it, and perhaps some of those who printed it and told it, got to believe it. You were told that it was absolutely necessary that the Democrats should "have access to the books," so as to lay bare the enormous stealings that had been going on under Republican rule. We told you truthfully that for eight of the then preceding ten years the House of Representatives had been Democratic; that it had at each session a standing committee for each of the seven departments, whose special duty it was to examine the expenditures of the department for which it was appointed, and that such committees had either failed to perform their duties, or had not been able to discover any important wrong. But you paid no heed, and the cry rang loudly through the land, "Let us see the books."

Well you have had the books for eighteen months, and have counted

the money and what have you found? You have found the money all in its place, and the books all right. Do you really like to be humbugged? And the more you are humbugged, do you the more trust those who humbug you? What is the condition of your party to-day? On what great question of public policy do you agree among yourselves? You are widely and hopelessly at variance on the tariff question. Mr. Randall, leading one section of your party, and Mr. Morrison leading the other, have so antagonized each other in a strongly Democratic House, that this great question during a long session of eight months has not been acted upon.

You are as hopelessly divided as to the money we shall have to carry on the vast business of the country. The President and the Treasury Department are fully committed to the Wall street idea that we shall have no legal tender money but gold; while a large portion, if not a majority of your members of Congress are in favor of an unlimited coinage of silver; what good can be hoped for from a party so hopelessly divided against itself?

When the election was over, and you found to your surprise you had elected your President, you did agree on one thing, "To the victors belong the spoils," you turned your back upon pledges given before election, that if successful you would carry out in good faith the law of civil service reform. Your President was disposed to keep his word, and your pledges on that subject, and you remember the cry of surprise and anger that went up all over the land in consequence, and the curses both loud and deep that accompanied that cry.

Your party are bargaining and dickering with every faction in the land; greenbackers, labor organizations, prohibition, anything and everything to catch votes and gudgeons; some of whom seem quite willing to be caught for a consideration. I do not say these things to make you angry; it is very hard work to convince an angry man, and my wish is to convince you that the Democratic party has outlived its usefulness, that it has become a mere aggregation of discordant and conflicting factions, and further, that the proper thing to do is to leave it and join us. I ask you this in all frankness and with all kindness. Think it over in the same spirit.

In my letter of acceptance I tried to show, and I think I did show, good reasons why the Republican party could not endorse the Knights of Labor party. We do not know yet just what it wants to do, or how it proposes to do it. If its methods of how to do it are fairly shown by the methods employed in the street car strikes and railroad strikes at St. Louis, the street car strikes in New York, and the strike against the Lake Shore Railroad, and the McCormick Reaper works recently in Chicago; then its methods are methods of lawlessness, violence and rioting, and these the Republican party cannot wisely endorse in my judgment, and I think it is not only your right, but your duty to ask

Judge Hayes and Mr. O'Meara whether they will do so, and that it is your right and duty to have answers to your questions.

The Republican party is for peace and good order, because peace and good order are essential to the well being of the country; it proposes to accomplish its ends by argument and open discussion and the ballot. It invites the closest and sharpest discussion of all proposed laws and all existing laws; to the end that new laws may be wisely made if made at all; and existing laws wisely amended if amendment be needed.

I like to say what I think, and I do not like to see a man who is afraid to express his convictions. A man should have the courage to say just what his opinions are. This district especially and the State in general is interested in the building of the Hennepin Canal. I have for years favored the work, and should do all I could to accomplish that end. Two interests would be affected by the building of this canal; one the railroads. Now I am a friend of the railroads; they have their rights and should be protected, but should not be upheld when they ask for more than their rights. We should remember that railroads are run for the country, and not the country for the railroads. When this canal is built it will interfere somewhat with the railroad companies, but they will have the vast Territories of the west and northwest, beyond us to and from which to transport grain and passengers, and never need fear but that the money invested will give a fair return. But when the progress of the country requires new works to be built, they will be carried out and existing corporations and establishments must content themselves and succumb to the requirements of a country's progress. What attention was paid to the stage coach when the railroads were built? Millions of dollars were invested in coaches and horses, but they had to look out for themselves the progress of the age required railroads.

And now I wish to say a little on the labor question. You complain that no one does anything for you, that you do not have a fair show. Now I ask if the Republican party has not done more for labor than any other political party or parties have done for it in the entire preceding years of the existence of this nation? When was there a time in the history of our government when the laboring man was as well situated as he is to-day? Further west you will find thousands of laboring men, owners of fine farms that they never would have owned in the world, if it had not been for the homestead law, passed by the Republican party. [Loud cheers.] The Republican party has worked the only miracle that I have known of in my life, by elevating four millions of human beings from a condition of being mere chattels, to the position of being men and women, whose rights were recognized by the laws of the land. Why did the labor organizations strike? Was it because the fare was too high, and the freight rates too heavy?

Did they strike because the railroads charged too much? No, they struck to get shorter hours, and higher wages. Did they strike to build railroads or to reduce the price of raw materials to manufacturers, or to reduce the price of goods to consumers? No, but in their strikes they forgot to consider where the consumers and merchants and farmers come in. They are certainly wrong when they assume to legislate for themselves, and do not consider the effect on all people in branches of business different from their own as one portion cannot prosper at the expense of others without wrong.

Not long ago my friends came to me and inquired whether or not I wanted to go to Congress. I asked myself, do you not want that honor; but I thought I had had honor enough. I have been three times Governor of this great State of Iowa, and do not want additional honor. My friends said in times gone by, you wanted us to vote for you, and now we want to use you and want you to let yourself be voted for. [Cheers.] I felt it my duty and accepted the nomination. I don't like a mean man, and one who will not be accommodating, as there is nothing in my judgment more contemptible than ingratitude. But don't misunderstand me; I want to be elected. * *

In this district you want to hire a man to go to Congress. [Cheers.] Well, that is about the size of it. There are three gentlemen from whom you can choose. Of Mr. Hayes and O'Meara I shall say nothing and modesty prevents my speaking at length about the third. You want a man who will represent the intelligence and character of the people of this district. That fact I think you know. You may choose between the three men, but I wish to say modestly, to the contrary notwithstanding, that I think I fill that part of the bill. [Tremendous applause.] Some gentlemen inform me that I am too old to go to Congress, and delicately hint that I am in my second childhood. I have an opinion on that subject that I do not intend to express, while others tell me that the experiences I have had in the Congress of the United States, and a brief experience as a cabinet officer would give me an advantage over my competitors. I have an opinion on that subject also which I intend to withhold. [Cheers.] You must make up your minds to this fact however—an election is not like a base ball game or a regatta. It is business. It is a matter that affects the welfare of every man in the country. That is what an election is. How many of us go the polls asking nothing but "which is my party ticket?" No matter who he is or what, you ought to go a little deeper than that. If it should be your good pleasure to send me I will go, and I will do for this district and State and country the best I can with what knowledge and ability God has given me. Men may promise to do more, but they will cheat you in the end. With many thanks for your kind attention I will bid you good night.

The district was very thoroughly canvassed, the Governor addressing good-sized audiences in nearly every large town in it.

The election resulted in the choice of Judge Hayes, he having received 15,279 votes, Mr. O'Meara, 8,602, and Gov. Kirkwood 8,009.

*This was the last political canvass in which Gov. Kirkwood took an active part. He would undoubtedly have engaged in the Presidential one two years later, as his interest in public affairs had not abated, but his health would not permit of his engaging in public speaking.

*If all the anti Hayes votes had been cast for Governor Kirkwood, he would have been elected by 1,332 majority.



CHAPTER XXII.

Did More Public Speaking Than Anyone Else in Iowa—Character as a Speaker—As a Man—Blaine's Estimate of Him—Birthday Anniversaries Observed—Always a Friend and Promoter of Education—An Epitome of the Exploits of Iowa Soldiers—Kirkwood and Pusey in the Senate in 1858—Visit of Old Friends, September, 1892—Those Present—Those Who Wrote They Wanted to be—Speech by Judge Geo. G. Wright—Letters Read from Hiram Price, Samuel Murdock, Jacob Rich, R. D. Kellogg, Judge Woolson and B. F. Gue—Speeches on the Lawn—Gov. Kirkwood as a Poet.

For a period of thirty years—from 1856 to 1886—almost the life time of a generation of men, no man in the State had done more public political speaking, or discussed more elaborately the great questions of the times than Gov. Kirkwood, and crowds always gathered to listen to him, and he never wearied an audience, no matter how long was his discourse. He always secured the attention of his hearers from the first and held it to the last; he seemed to have almost a magic power over them.

As a speaker he was never what is termed "florid or eloquent." Flights of fancy, figures of rhetoric, or highly-colored pictures of the imagination he never indulged in; but cogency of statement, purity of diction, perspicacity of style, directness of purpose, clearness of comprehension, perfection of analysis and aptness of illustration, were qualities he possessed in an eminent degree. He always labored to enlighten the understanding and convince the judgment of his hearers, rather than to arouse their passions or appeal to their prejudices.

The ceaseless, tireless, roaring "loom of time" never sent from the workings of its treadles and shuttle, or unrolled from its beam a stronger, finer or firmer web than when it ushered into official life Samuel J. Kirkwood. With

a masculine understanding, an abundant stock of hard common sense, the courage of his convictions, a stout and resolute heart, an honest and an intense regard for the public welfare, an ardent lover of justice, uprightness and truth in all its relations and applications, he resolutely and fearlessly met every responsibility, and performed with fidelity every public duty imposed upon him.

Jas. G. Blaine recounting the merits of the "War Governors" of 1861 in his "Twenty Years of Congress," says:

"The Governor of Iowa was Samuel J. Kirkwood, a man of truth, courage and devoted love of country. Distinguished for comprehensive intelligence, for clear foresight, for persuasive speech, for spotless integrity, for thorough acquaintance with the people, he was a model of executive efficiency."

The Iowa City National Bank was organized in 1882, when Gov. Kirkwood was chosen President of the Board of Directors, which office he continued to hold by repeated re-election until January, 1889; and since that time retaining the directorship until the re-organization of the bank, he has been living in retirement on his place of some twenty acres adjoining Iowa City, where for a long series of years his oldest brother, now deceased, and two of his wife's sisters, Mrs. Col. E. W. Lucas and Mrs. J. E. Jewett, have been his three nearest neighbors. During some portion of the time while president of the bank he was unable from sickness and other causes to perform all the duties of the office, when he shared with Geo. W. Lewis, the vice-president, the honors and labors and the salary attached to it.

During the last few years, on the anniversary of his birth, December 20, it has been the custom here to raise the National flag on the City Hall, the State University and the Court House, and his immediate friends on these occasions, often with a band of music, have called upon him in a body, and presented him their congratulations; and those of his friends that were greeted by him the most heartily were, not

the politicians, but the old soldiers, "his boys," as he used to and still does delight to call them.

No citizen of the State has more deeply interested himself in the cause of education than he. For several years in succession he was sub-director in his school district, and has been a member of the Board of Regents of the State University, and one of the Trustees of the State Agricultural College. He has always taken a lively interest in the State Historical Society; been several times a member and President of the Board of Curators of that institution, and he has been a generous donor of books and pamphlets to its library, contributing at one time 419 bound books and 524 pamphlets. While being an active participant in making history, he has been equally active in securing means for its preservation.

He at one time during the war endeavored to secure a photograph of every Iowa colonel for the society, but after obtaining some fifteen he abandoned the work as a hopeless task. It was at his suggestion and on his solicitation that many relics of the war have been sent to the Historical Society for preservation. Writing to Surgeon Cochran, then in the service, he says, "Remember the Historical Society and myself in the way of trophies."

During his gubernatorial term and on his recommendation as a Governor, the first money (\$500) was appropriated from the State treasury to the State Historical Society, to be used in the collection and preservation of historical material.

At no time in his life has the Governor been desirous of accumulating a fortune. To become rich above his fellows was never one of his aims. In all his relations of life as a business man, whether in private or official station, "the Eternal Right" was his preference to "the Almighty Dollar." A competence he always had and that to him was satisfactory.

He seemed to have lived and acted upon the maxim that,

“He that holds fast the golden mean,
And lives contentedly between
The little and the great,
Feels not the wants that pinch the poor,
Or plagues that haunt the rich man’s door.”

When the State voted to issue \$800,000 in bonds during his term of office to carry on the war, and only \$300,000 was expended, here was a margin of \$500,000 left from which large profits could have been made in its expenditure, if we had not then had a faithful watch dog of the treasury in the person of the Executive, aided by the vigilant officers associated with him to carry out his plans and practice his and their honesty and economy.

If there is a branch of the Federal Government that has more than any other been tainted with speculation and jobbery, it is the Department of the Interior, of which he was for a time the head. While he was there not a breath of suspicion was raised that any irregularity attached to his administration of it.

As he sits by his quiet fireside with his life work nearly done, calmly and patiently spending the evening of a well-spent life, there is no portion of it that he reviews with greater pleasure than that in which he was raising troops, sending them to the front and watching the part they took in the great contest wherein they gave Iowa and Iowa soldiers a name and a reputation, of which he and they and all of us were and still are justly proud. Their deeds present themselves to him as painted in a panorama before the veterans at a reunion in Story county by Hon. Henry L. Wilcox in these glowing colors:

In that awful baptism of fire at Blue Mills 500 of the Third Iowa held the ground for an hour against 4,000 rebels, exhibiting wonderful valor.

At Wilson’s Creek the First Regiment stood a wall of adamant, against a flood of fire.

In the charge on Donelson, four Iowa regiments forced the rebel fortifications, and the gallant Second was the diamond point of the mighty spear that entered the rebel breast.

At Pea Ridge the Fourth and Ninth were the strong arm of the Union forces, and gave the hardest blows.

At Shiloh, where forests of bayonets bristled from every hill top, and torrents of flame rolled down the valleys, eleven of her regiments stemmed the tide of battle and stood the bravest of the brave.

Thirteen Iowa regiments were at Corinth, and when the battle raged like a sea of fire lashed into fury by the winds, that mighty surge that swept over the forts and rifle pits and filled the trenches with rebel dead, was made of Iowa men.

In the battle of Prairie Grove a small army of Union troops, commanded by an Iowa general and fronted by the Nineteenth and Twentieth Iowa, completely routed a vast army of rebels.

In the charge of Lawler's Brigade at Black River Bridge, the Twenty-first and Twenty-third Iowa filled the world with their fame.

Thirty of her regiments were in that wall of fire that surrounded Vicksburg, and thirteen brave men from the Twenty-second captured and silenced Fort Beauregard during the remarkable siege.

There were three regiments and a battery from Iowa among the 4,000 soldiers in Fort Helena when 10,000 rebels undertook its capture.

Like a bridal party at a prince's marriage, the rebels marched to meet the Iowa boys; like a herd of wild asses before a prairie fire the remnants of the rebel army fled.

It was the Fifth Iowa that sustained the charge and won the battle at Iuka.

Nine Iowa regiments were at Chattanooga. Some fought on Look-out Mountain like hosts of heaven among the clouds. Some slew the hosts of hell on Mission Ridge.

Four Iowa regiments made Pleasant Hill very unpleasant for the rebel army. In fact the story of the Red River campaign, a sad tale of mad mismanagement and misfortune, from Fort De Russy to Jenkins' Ferry, is brightened by the brilliant exploits and brave deeds of Iowa soldiers.

Three of her regiments were in that awful tide of war that rolled down the valley of the Shenandoah, destroyed the rebels at Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek and scattered the remnants of Early's army.

Fifteen of her regiments were in that fierce host that swept like a cyclone through the mountains of Georgia, filled the gullies with dead rebels and fed Johnson and Hood's army to the buzzards. Seventeen Iowa regiments were in that triumphant army that tore its way like a besom of destruction through the very heart of secession from Atlanta to the sea.

At Nashville, Jackson, Tupelo, Memphis, Mobile, Champion Hills, Milliken's Bend, Stone River and a score of other battles known to history, Iowa troops fought in the front rank and distinguished themselves for valor among men as brave as ever went to battle,

In no bayonet charges or hand to hand encounter did they ever falter or fail to rout the enemy. The story of their sacrifices cannot fail to stir the dullest heart with love and pride.

By his political opponents he has been rated as a shrewd politician. As the term is used in its lower sense, he has never been a politician. The terms "wire puller," "pipe layer," "intriguer," or "plotter," were never applicable to him. He never personally abused an opponent, never betrayed a friend or made political trades to advance his own personal ends. He has always occupied the higher plane of a statesman, rather than the lower one of the politician. What he thought was for the public good he has always supported and advocated:

At a meeting of the Pioneer Law Makers of Iowa, held at Des Moines in the winter of 1892, Hon. W. H. M. Pusey, in 1858 a young Democratic Senator in the 8th General Assembly from Pottawatamie Co., gave an account of the tilt he had with Senator Kirkwood then a member of the same General Assembly, in the following style:

"An amusing and prolonged debate, arose after the standing committees of the Senate had been named, on a resolution offered by the Senator from Johnson Co., (S. J. Kirkwood) instructing the committee on banks and banking, to bring in bills to create banks of issue, (as provided by the new constitution) the one to be known as the free banking system, the other providing for a State bank and branches. I was a new member and knew but very few of my colleagues, I asked a gentleman sitting near me, (Senator Henry H. Trimble) 'who that Senator was, who proposed to instruct the committee on banks in their duty before the committee had even met for organization and conference.' His reply was, 'Oh, he is an old farmer from the east part of the State and don't know anything about banks, pitch into him.' Well the young man from Pottawattamie, thought he saw an opening and made his maiden effort in the Iowa Senate. Before he was through with the Johnson county farmer, he learned there was one amusement, more exciting than hunting lions. It is when the lion turns in the pursuit of you. I found the farmer's garb covered a man with a big brain, with a clear and incisive way of presenting his views, that was hard to combat, and that the farmer, was the great leader of as great a senate as was ever convened in Iowa.



RESIDENCE OF GOV. KIRKWOOD.

"When the morning session closed, and the Senator walked over to my desk, and requested Senator Trimble to present his young friend from Pottawattamie county. I first learned that it was Samuel J. Kirkwood.

"From that day to the present, a life-long friendship has continued and strengthened between us, uninterrupted by the excitement of political and partisan strife. It is proper to state that his resolution was adopted, and he was unanimously added to the committee on banks, and from whom the committee and State derived great benefit from his wise counsels in framing those two laws.

"When the gavel fell, that beautiful May morning in the old Capitol building, announcing that the labors of the Eighth General Assembly had passed into history, the old farmer Senator, then filling the Governor's chair, it was with the benediction of our people, upon our citizen soldiers, hurrying to the front, where they so soon placed Iowa as one of the Trinity of Western States.

Indiana—Morton. Illinois—Yates. Iowa—Kirkwood.

"Gentlemen, no more pleasing privilege is granted us, on this 'Reunion Day' than the greeting we send our 'War Governor,' who in his happy home on the banks of the Iowa, honored by the State and Nation, in the eventide of a full rounded and honest life, is confidently, peacefully, waiting for the Master's call."

In the summer of 1892, ex-Gov. Buren R. Sherman conceived the idea of having a large number of the old-time friends of Gov. Kirkwood make him a social visit in a body and after consulting with Judge Wright and a few other of the Governor's mutual friends, the 28th of September was fixed upon as the time, and invitations to the number of fifty or more were sent out inviting that number of the friends to respond. All responded by attending in person, or by letter sending regrets, and giving reasons why they could not be present. When the time arrived, which was one of those balmy autumnal Iowa days, when sunshine and shade are equally agreeable, about thirty, including those who had arrived in the city the day previous, and a few others residing in the city took carriages at 1:30 o'clock at the St. James Hotel and drove to the Governor's suburban residence on Kirkwood avenue, in the southeast part of the city.

The following account of the interview was given by the

Editor of the *Press*, Hon. John Springer, who formed one of the party:

Now almost at his eightieth year, and by reason of failing health debared from long journeys and greetings with old friends, whom he would thus meet, it was a happy thought to bear him their tribute of a visit from men his daily associates in the period when he and they were leaders and guides of the State, and who supported his and its honor and sustained its credit in trying periods and difficulties. How strong this tie, is shown by the presence here on Wednesday of men who laid aside business affairs and crossed the State to again meet him, to clasp his hand and recall the memories of thirty years and more.

Gov. Kirkwood has lived in almost retirement for ten years past, but the event of Wednesday shows that he is by no means forgotten, and the interest evinced in every part of Iowa proves that history has made his name as familiar to the newer generation as association made it familiar to his companions. It can not but be a pleasant reflection, and one full of comfort and cheer, that the people of Iowa honor and revere him, that his life and history are the emulation of their sons. All the honors of office and titles of distinction he has attained by meritorious service, are dim in comparison with the love and honor bestowed upon him by the people of the State.

It was at first intended that this visit of old friends to the Governor should be a surprise, but after counsel with his close associates, and particularly with Hon. H. W. Lathrop, who has been engaged for some months in preparing a biography, it was decided to inform him, that a number of old associates and towns people would call, and Mr. Lathrop was selected to receive them at the house.

Dr. J. C. Shrader, who had kindly and thoughtfully looked after the local arrangements, took charge of the party. Messrs. Foster & Leuz, sent their finest carriages, and it was a most interesting ride for the visitors through the city to the Governor's home.

The Governor's pretty cottage home never showed to better advantage than on that afternoon; lawn and tree, flower and vines, forming an almost pastoral setting to the scene, and bringing to some who came from busy city life a scene of peace and rest that told of the days of quiet enjoyment and care-free repose they would gladly secure.

The company consisted of the following gentlemen:

Hon. Buren R. Sherman, of Waterloo, ex-State Auditor and ex-Governor.

Hon. George G. Wright, of Des Moines, ex-Supreme Judge and ex-U. S. Senator, now Lecturer in the law department of the University.

Ex-Congressman W. H. M. Pusey, of Council Bluffs, a Member of the State Senate with Kirkwood.

Hon. George F. Wright, of Council Bluffs, former Member of the State Senate.

Hon. Chas. Aldrich, of Boone, several times Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Hon. John Russell, of Onslow, ex-State Auditor, and a life-long friend of the Governor.

Hon. S. S. Farwell, of Monticello, ex-Congressman of the old Second District.

Hon. Jas. H. Rothrock, of Cedar Rapids, Chief Justice of the Iowa Supreme Court.

Hon. Gifford S. Robinson, of Storm Lake, Justice of the Supreme Court.

Hon. B. F. Gue, of Des Moines, ex-Lieutenant Governor and Member of the General Assembly.

Hon. Wm. T. Smith, of Des Moines, for many years President of the State Agricultural Society.

Dr. J. M. Shaffer, of Keokuk, for many years an early Secretary of the State Agricultural Society.

Hon. Wm. G. Thompson, of Marion, a Member of the Iowa House of Representatives years ago, also of Congress.

Hon. R. S. Finkbine, of Des Moines, for many years a resident of this city, and amongst the governor's closest friends; a Member of the General Assembly, and Superintendent of the building of the State Capitol.

Gen. James A. Williamson, of Washington, D. C., an Iowa soldier, ex-Commissioner of the United States Land Office.

Hon. M. L. Elliott, of Marion.

Hon. E. Clark, of Iowa City, for many years Gov. Kirkwood's business partner and associate, and State Senator.

Hon. Peter A. Dey, Railroad Commissioner.

Judge Samuel H. Fairall.

President Charles A. Schaeffer, of the State University.

Hon. M. Bloom, State Senator.

Mr. Thos. C. Carson.

Mr. N. H. Brainerd, Gov. Kirkwood's Military Secretary during the War Period.

Hon. H. W. Lathrop.

Prof. J. C. Shrader, Senator in General Assembly.

Mr. Geo. W. Lewis.

Mr. Herbert S. Fairall.

Mr. John Springer.

The guests were ushered into the parlors by Hon. H. W. Lathrop, Gov. Kirkwood being seated in his favorite easy chair at the further end of the room. When all had been seated Judge Wright said:

"It is said there is a geyser in Yellowstone park that takes twenty-four hours for preparation and spouts just three minutes. I have known, as you have, oratorical spell-binders (not like you, however,)

that took three minutes or less for preparation and kept spouting twenty-four hours or more. I have scarcely taken three minutes for preparation and do not expect to take more time in my talk.

"Gov. Kirkwood, we are here as your friends, to take you by the hand and tell you how much we like you. We are not here to praise you, as we know that you are not fond of eulogies. And then if we praised you as you deserve, we feel you might possibly be like others of whom it is said if complimented and eulogized while in life, as after death, would become so conceited as to reject and spurn even a heavenly grace. [Laughter.] We are not here because of your looks, and especially not because of your *good* looks, but without reference to looks.

"Some of your friends suggested that we come without giving you notice and take you by surprise, but I objected for several reasons. I knew you had been quite unaccustomed to making public speeches, [laughter] and if we should come and take you by surprise you might not be equal to the occasion. [Laughter.] Then again, we all know how anxious you are about your attire, and if we should come without notice you would not have time to put on your dress suit and diamond pin, and especially that steel watch chain which was your inspiration and the admiration in days gone by of those large crowds to whom you spoke. [Laughter.]

"We are here as friends, and without regard to political distinction. We are here Democrats and Republicans. There are some of our number, like Colonel Pusey and Mr. Dey, that the only thing bad about them is their democracy; and some of whom, like Gov. Sherman and Major Thompson, that the only good thing about them is their republicanism. [Laughter.] Of the latter, such men as Judge Fairall and W. T. Smith, would say that if their politics were their only passport to a heavenly home, the case is decided against them before submitted; while of the former 'uncle' John Russell and Major Farwell would declare that the stain political is so grave that the presence of all other virtues, even in the greatest repletion, would shut St. Peter's gate against them. But they are good fellows all.

"We come to greet you, to give you proof of our esteem and kindly feeling, to congratulate you in your happy home, as also your devoted, helpful wife; because we know how much you have done for Iowa, and for the nation. Amid the din and clangor of arms, and with this nation hanging, trembling in the balance, you, as the chief executive of the State, were true to your high principles, and to your sense of duty, to pure ideas and thoughts and principles. Because you were faithful, for this we love you, we come to see you this day.

"Governor, we come to say we are glad to see you, also because it does the hearts of these men good and the hearts of the people of Iowa good to find a man that never departed from duty for any personal or

selfish cause. Without praise, I can say that you are an emphatic exemplification of the fact that goodness is greatness, and whether one rules or plows, or sows, doing duty is greatness.

"And now, Governor Kirkwood, I take you by the hand, and in behalf of the people of Iowa, for the friends here (for I know the kindness that prompts their coming), and they join with me in saying, 'May God bless you, and your wife, and your home. May a kind Providence that has been so kind to you, still longer bless you, and preserve you many years to Iowa and the nation.'" [Applause.]

Gov. Kirkwood was visibly affected by the concluding words of Judge Wright's address, and rising, while his friends gently applauded, he hesitated a moment, and speaking slowly and distinctly, he said:

"This is a very pleasant occasion, it could not be otherwise. Yet it is embarrassing. My speaking days are over. I have done a great deal of it in my time, as my friend Mr. Lathrop will testify some of these days. Yes, I have done a great deal of that kind of work in my time. Unless I mistake your purpose, aside from personal, kindly feeling toward me, I think that the place I hold in public estimation, arises from the fact that during the great war of the rebellion I was governor of this State, and I am called the 'Old War Governor' now. I have a few words to say about that. It was a position involving a great deal of intense interest. I speak to you of myself. It involved a great deal of responsibility, a great deal of hard labor. How I discharged those duties which devolved upon me by reason of my position—well you know about that as well as I do. I have this to say that I did as well as I could, that I did as well as I knew how. Many things were done in which I erred, and when I found I had erred if it were possible to undo what had been done I undid it. If it could not be undone I had to stand by it and did so, and it is a great consolation to see from the personal feeling shown in your visit to me to-day, that you believe that in doing as I did, I did what I believed to be for the best interests of our State and our people. And now that all is over I leave to the future the verdict of those who follow me and follow you. I shall feel that whatever responsibility, labor and toil I gave was well given and well rewarded."

The governor, though urged not to exert himself, insisted on shaking hands with the visitors, and to each gave hospitable welcome by name. Then all who suffer themselves to smoke partook of his favorite brand of cigars, and a half hour was pleasantly passed in friendly chat on the lawn. Many were the recollections of old times, many the events briefly related, and the laugh went around as some scenes were recalled, and the sigh rose as the name of some one absent forever was mentioned.

Mr. Lee Coover had brought out for the occasion his biggest and best camera, and it took him only a brief time to arrange the company

for two photographs, the guests being grouped around Gov. and Mrs. Kirkwood, with their pretty curly-haired grand-daughter in the foreground.

Gov. Sherman read a few of the many letters of congratulation received, in which the writers spoke their appreciation of the Governor and his services. Time forbade that all should be read, those selected being from Judge SeEVERS, Judge MURDOCK, Judge WOOLSON, Hon. HIRAM PRICE, R. D. KELLOGG and JACOB RICH. Letters were received from the following gentlemen:

Hon. JAMES HARLAN, Mt. Pleasant; Hon. HIRAM PRICE, Washington, D. C.; Hon. FRANK W. PALMER, Washington, D. C.; Hon. JOHN A. KASSON, Washington, D. C.; Hon. GEORGE W. BEMIS, Independence; Judge W. H. SEEVERS, Oskaloosa; Judge JOHN S. WOOLSON, Mt. Pleasant; Hon. JOHN F. DUNCOMBE, Ft. Dodge; Gen. F. M. DRAKE, New York; Col. C. A. STANTON, Centerville; Hon. EDWIN MANNING KEOSAUQUA; Hon. JACOB RICH, Dubuque; Hon. J. M. BRAINERD, Boone; Hon. SAMUEL MURDOCK, Elkader; Hon. A. B. HILDRETH, Charles City; Hon. JAMES M. BECK, Ft. Madison; Col. JOHN SCOTT, Nevada; Hon. J. G. NEWBOLD, Mt. Pleasant; Hon. JOHN H. GEAR, Burlington; Hon. BARLOW GRANGER, Des Moines; Hon. D. N. RICHARDSON, Davenport; Hon. H. S. WINSLOW, Newton; Prof. THEO. S. PARVIN, Cedar Rapids; Hon. L. H. SMITH, Algona; Hon. R. SEARS, Marshalltown; Hon. HOYT SHERMAN, Des Moines.

The following are the letters that were read:

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12, 1892.

Hon. B. R. Sherman.

DEAR SIR:—Your note of the 6th inst. received this day. I am in entire sympathy with the object named, and I assure you it would be a great pleasure to me to be one of your party, to take by the hand once more in friendly greeting the "Old War Governor."

You speak of his "advancing years." I think it possible that expression means more to me than to you. Gov. Kirkwood was exactly three weeks old when I opened my eyes on this busy, bustling world. He will be 79 years old on the 20th of next December, and I will be 79 on the 10th day of next January. So you see when he dies of old age, I ought to be squaring my accounts and putting my house in order. I am very glad that this movement, on the part of some of his "old-time friends" is contemplated, and hope it may be a success in assuring him that he is kindly remembered and has a warm place in the hearts of those who knew him best amid the active scenes of life, in which he occupied a prominent, honorable and responsible position. One of the unpleasant features of life in these days of competitive struggle for place and power, is the tendency to forget those more important factors in the accomplishment of much of the good which we enjoy. I have had opportunity for knowing Gov. Kirkwood better than most

men. I was for several years intimately associated with him in the State Board of Control of the Iowa banks, and also in the dark days of the rebellion. He did not spread as much canvass to the breeze as some men, nor ring as many bells, or sound as many fog horns, nor parade as much "trimming and tinselry" as many others, but he never lacked for ballast to trim and steady the vessel he commanded. One of the faults of this age is to wait till a man is dead before anything good is said *of* or *about* him. Death never did and never can improve a man's mental or moral character. Common sense and common honesty, both teach that when a man has used his time and his talents for the benefit of his country, or his fellows, he ought to receive in *time*, as he certainly will in *eternity*, the glad plaudit, "well done, good and faithful servant," without waiting till the undertaker has put the last screw in his coffin.

Sorry I can't be with you, but I have an engagement that will keep me here all this month. Please shake hands with the Governor *for me* and tell him he is to blame for my absence. When I left Congress in 1881 and went back to Iowa, he *ordered* me to Washington to take charge of the Indian Bureau, and when he resigned I tendered my resignation, but its acceptance was refused; again when my wife was seriously ill I resigned, but again it was refused, and I was never able to get out of that office (without absolutely running away from it) until the Democrats took control. In the meantime I had incurred some real estate obligations which required my attention, and so from one cause and another I've remained until I suppose Iowa no longer claims me as a citizen.

Very truly yours,

H. PRICE.

ELKADER, Sept. 12th, 1892.

Hon. B. R. Sherman.

DEAR SIR:—Yours of the 5th inst. is received and in answer I regret very much to say, that various circumstances will put it out of my power to be with you on the occasion you refer to.

It is but just and in keeping with the history of that noble old man, Samuel J. Kirkwood, that those of his contemporaries who have known him best and have passed with him through all of his great and heroic struggles, that have rendered his name immortal for all coming time, should in his decline meet once more at his domestic fireside, and while all still live, there congratulate him on the achievements of a long and useful life, crowded full with the events of his country's history, in which his name and his fame will be forever mingled.

In the days that tried men's souls more than any other in American history, the name of Samuel J. Kirkwood will stand forth among the foremost and the highest, and living or dead, Iowa will never forget him, and the day is not far distant when her people in appreciation of his services and in perpetuation of his deeds and actions, will

commemorate them on marble and on brass, that they may never die.

In our last great struggle when the union of the States was preserved, it took more than one man alone to accomplish it, and the blood and treasure of the conflict is as nothing compared to the blessings that are now continually flowing to us in consequence, and in that great struggle it looks as if Providence had selected here and there out of millions, certain wise heads and pure hearts, and assigned them as the right men in the right places to act as one man for a given object, and Samuel J. Kirkwood was one of them, and when the history of these events shall be carefully written, the part that he played in the great drama will have its due prominence on every page of that history.

Not only has Samuel J. Kirkwood contributed to swell his own name and fame in that history, but by his deeds and actions he has made a history for Iowa in that great struggle, that stands among the highest, and one that will never perish, and in which every soldier that went forth to battle from her borders has an honorable place. As one of his contemporaries in all his deeds and actions, and one who has been an eye-witness of all the great events of American history for the last three quarters of a century, I must place the name of Samuel J. Kirkwood high up in the temple of fame, and assign him a niche in its walls among the noblest of earth.

Regretting again that I cannot be with you to shake the "Old War Governor" once more by the hand, I remain

Your friend,

SAMUEL MURDOCK.

DUBUQUE, Sept. 14th, 1892.

Hon. B. R. Sherman,

Des Moines, Iowa.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 6th relative to a call of old friends of Gov. Kirkwood is only just at hand.

I should be very glad to accept your invitation to be present on the 28th inst. if it is possible. No man in Iowa has a warmer place in my affections than S. J. Kirkwood, and any proposition to recognize fittingly his great services to the State meets my most cordial approval.

My business at this season of the year is very exacting, and it may be possible that I may not be able to meet with you at the time. But I will do so if I can.

What is the proposed programme? Does it propose any testimonial gift? If so I shall be glad to contribute my share.

Respectfully,

JACOB RICH.

DUBUQUE, Sept. 26, 1892.

Hon. Buren R. Sherman.

DEAR GOVERNOR:—I have waited until the last moment before writing you, in the hope that I would be able to be at Iowa City. But I find I must give it up. I have not been feeling well for a couple of days and do not think it wise for me to leave home. On top of that I have important business matters that I cannot well lay aside. So I regretfully have concluded to forego the pleasure I anticipated in meeting with you, and participating in your delightful mission.

Will you be kind enough to convey to Gov. Kirkwood my great regret at not being able to join his other friends in the visit of love and affection proposed. I have for many years had for him a feeling of profound respect, of deep veneration, of the warmest affection. The rugged integrity of his character, the solidity of his judgment, the fervidness of his patriotism, the great value of his services to the State, the healthy influence of his whole personality, as exemplifying the grandest type of self made American manhood, have evoked from me my heartiest admiration; while his invariably kind appreciation and friendly interest for myself have commanded my warmest affection. To do anything to honor him is for me as it always has been a delight.

I join in the hearty congratulations that he is still spared to his friends and to Iowa and I pray that his life may be extended for many years, and his wise counsel and beneficent influence long retained to bless the State.

Very respectfully yours,

JACOB RICH.

Hon. Buren R. Sherman.

MY DEAR SIR:—Your note of invitation to join a party of well-known gentlemen to make a pilgrimage to the home of Iowa's political seer and prophet, is received, and I am truly thankful for the invitation and am in full sympathy with the movement. God bless the one whoever he may be, that started this move, and may it be an example frequently followed.

'Tis well to decorate with flowers the graves of the loved and honored dead; but better far that the fragrance of our deeds of love should be inhaled by the living, especially by the aged, for it is not the young alone who appreciate love tokens; friendships, like wine, are improved by age. Words fail me to express my great disappointment in not being able to be with you, and take the hand once more of that grand old man, the Gladstone of Iowa, who without flourish or pomp dared at all times to proclaim the rugged truth. 'Twas he who said on the floor of the United States Senate to an ardent disciple of a false doctrine, "We neither hate you nor fear you"—*Multum in Parvo*. But I will not attempt a recital of the grand words of the great Kirkwood. His public life is a model for all, and no feeble words of mine can add to his great name and national fame.

Please present him my best wishes and kindest regards, and say to him that "I love him for the enemies he has made," but he has outlived them or enrolled them as his friends. Say that I would have delivered my handshake in person, but for the fact that my regiment, the old 34th, holds its reunion at Corydon on the 28th and 29th inst., and as I am president of our association, the "old boys" will expect to see me, and I *know* the Governor, who loved the soldiers so well, would not have me leave *them*, even to go and visit him. I bespeak for you all a happy time, and know that you'll have one and ask that you say with me—Green in memory be the life and deeds of Iowa's "War Governor."

Very truly yours,

September 22, 1892.

R. D. KELLOGG,

1406 11th St., Des Moines.

CEDAR RAPIDS, Sept. 17th, 1892.

Hon. B. R. Sherman,

Des Moines, Ia.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR:—Answering yours of the 6th with reference to the call upon Gov. Kirkwood on the 28th, has been delayed a few days, that I might obtain more definite information as to the demand upon my time about that date. It would afford me the greatest pleasure to join in the proposed honor to our great "War Governor." Not only with reference to his excellence personally, but also to the great service he rendered our beloved State and Nation as well, in those critically perilous days, it is right thus to honor him. As a private citizen and as a public official in all the varied and exalted stations to which he has been called, to serve an affectionate and trusting people, he has done well, and justly merits all the honor we can pay him.

But as at present advised my duties at the Council Bluffs term of court will demand my personal attention, and will prevent my presence with you. Will you do me the favor to present to the Governor my high personal regard and assure him of my reluctant absence.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN S. WOOLSON.

The following letter from ex-Lieut. Gov. Gue was not read as he was present in person and it is here inserted on account of its reference to the first speech made by Gov. Kirkwood in Iowa.

DES MOINES, Sept. 13th, 1892.

Dear Governor:—I heartily approve of the proposed visit of his old time friends to Gov. Kirkwood. It is a happy thought and I shall be glad to join the party. I first met the "Old War Governor" in the convention at Iowa City that assembled there in the old capitol, on the 22nd of February, 1856, and then and there originated the Republican party in Iowa. Samuel J. Kirkwood, then a plain, farmer looking

man, was called out and made one of the best speeches on that historic occasion. I have been an admirer and supporter of him ever since.

Very truly yours,

Gov. B. R. Sherman, City.

B. F. GUE.

Judge Wright, when the last letter had been read, suggested there was yet a little time left, and called upon Judge Reed, of Council Bluffs, who said:

"Probably I have known Gov. Kirkwood as long as any of the gentlemen present. My recollection goes back to 1846, when I saw him under circumstances that left an impression that has remained with me forty-six years. He was then a young lawyer at Mansfield, Ohio. My father was a justice of the peace in an adjoining county, and young Kirkwood came to his home for the purpose of trying a lawsuit before him, the opposing counsel being James Stewart, then well-known and later one of the most eminent lawyers of the State. I took occasion to excuse myself from school that afternoon, and returning home I looked in at the door of the room used by my father as his office at the time Kirkwood was examining a witness. His attitude, the gesture of his hand and pointing of his finger to the witness so impressed me that when he had concluded I asked my mother the name of the young lawyer and learned it was Kirkwood of Mansfield. So deep was the impression upon me that I believe it had something to do with the bent of my studies and choice of life profession. (In answer to the question 'who won the case,' the judge said: 'I think Kirkwood got beat, as was usual at that time when Judge Stewart was on the other side.') It affords me infinite pleasure to be here to-day and pay the mark of respect to the man who was the friend of my father, and who in Iowa has been my friend."

Hon. W. H. M. Pusey, of Council Bluffs, was the next speaker, and said:

"Coming nearly across the State to this meeting I think my presence here is an indication of my regard and respect for Kirkwood. When quite a young man I was a representative, in the seventh and eighth general assemblies, of the great territory bordering on the Missouri, and then but thinly settled. It was immediately after the panic that made poor almost every man in Iowa, I was at Des Moines, knowing no one, not even Gov. Grimes. I had never heard of Sam Kirkwood, and I presume he had never heard of me. In the arrangement of committees I was brought into intimate relation with 'the gentleman from Johnson' and was attracted to Kirkwood, not by his beauty but by his practical, sensible way of getting at things and meeting emergencies. A novice, I sat at the feet of a Gamaliel, the farmer from Johnson, and learned wisdom. I have thought the old Governor always liked me, I know I always liked him, and we have kept from

that time our friendship. Politics never divided our intimacy, and now that we have grown old together, it is a comforting thought that in all the questions that interested the people of the State and concerned the honor and dignity of the State of Iowa we were hand in hand together, without a moment's hesitation. I was in full sympathy with all his acts in maintaining the honor and efficiency of the State during the war. I am proud to say to you here that I could not resist the invitation to meet him at his home to-day."

Judge Wright called on Gen. John A. Williamson, long an intimate friend of the Governor's who said:

"I feel gratified and complimented at being called on to say a word for my old friend. I have heard with pleasure the letter of Hiram Price, and like him I do not believe in waiting for death before speaking the true praise of a good man. Every recollection of Kirkwood brings me pleasure in the thought of what he has done for, and been to, the people of Iowa. To me the prominent idea here is what he did for Iowa and was to her people in the day when she needed leaders, when the people were in a measure unsettled in their opinions. I had the honor of accompanying the Governor in a trip extending over six weeks, mainly in the western part of the State, and there gained some knowledge of his influence upon men and his power as a leader, and I tell you that my first definite opinion of leadership was gained from observing the effect of his speeches upon the multitudes. Viewed in that light, I don't believe the equal of Kirkwood existed in Iowa at that time. He moved and swayed his audience, as by the rising and falling of his hand and brought them to tears or joyful acclamation. When a man does such things he demonstrates that he is a leader and is drawing the hearts of the people to him. He impressed me as the most impressive man I had ever known. As an educator of the youth of Iowa he stands unrivalled, for it was he who gave to them the true gospel of patriotism and liberty. Let me say, that like my friend Pusey, I came 250 miles to take by the hand my old friend and companion, the 'War Governor of Iowa.'"

"Uncle" John Russell, of Onslow, a long time associate of Governor Kirkwood's, far past his three score years and ten, said:

"It was with great pleasure I received the invitation to be here to-day, and it was without a moment's hesitation that I availed myself of the opportunity of again meeting Governor Kirkwood. Judge Reed told you of his early recollections of the Governor. I was a citizen of Ohio with him, took an active interest in public affairs, and my attention was directed to him as early as 1845, as one of the rising men of public affairs. From reading his speeches I formed the estimate that he was one of the men who was going to make his mark. I came to Iowa in 1852, he a year or so later, and he soon appeared on the

surface of Iowa politics as a member of the senate. We are all familiar with his later history, and it is needless for me to refer in any eulogistic strain to his action in important offices at a most important time. He has done more for Iowa than any man that has ever lived in the State. He has become, in his old age, a most lustrous historical character, and nothing can detract from his grand record. There is not a single act of his but has turned out for the best that could have been done at the time. I hope he may long be spared for the people of the State he has so well served, and that his grand history will be taught as an example to the young in our public schools."

Major Wm. G. Thompson, of Marion, paid a glowing and most eloquent tribute to the Governor, of which we can reproduce but a few words:

"I have known you, Governor, for thirty-six years; in law-making and law-expounding, you were my Mentor. Legislation under your guidance, was directed to the future, not less than for the present, and laws were made that stood the test of time and stand to-day. When a member of the legislature, and absent during the reading or discussion of a bill, my inquiry was 'how did Kirkwood vote?' and in voting with him I was always right. Whatever the future may have in store, your reputation and your fame are secure to the people and the coming generations." * * *

Judge Wright made the announcement that Mrs Kirkwood was not willing the visitors should depart without having partaken of the hospitality of the Governor's home. Coffee and sandwiches were served on the lawn under her direction and with the assistance of Mrs. Rachel Pritchard, Mrs. L. C. Jewett, Mrs. A. M. Greer, Misses Etta and Annie Jewett, and Mrs. Pritchard's pretty little daughter. Gen. Ed. Wright told in capital form two anecdotes—how he was appointed major of the 'Twenty-fourth Iowa, "the Methodist temperance regiment," and of the dinner without a guard the "boys" had in Washington.

The visitors from Council Bluffs and the west were to leave on the five o'clock train, so there were hearty hand clasps, fervent prayers of blessings to come yet to the "Old War Governor," and "good-byes" before they departed. One by one the guests shook hands with the Governor and Mrs. Kirkwood and departed, the happier for this most auspicious reunion.

From whatever stand point we view it, this was a most remarkable gathering of men. They were or had been all active politicians, high in official stations in both of the great political parties of the country, had for the last thirty-five years been Gov. Kirkwood's contemporaries as State archi-

fects, and active and strong workers in almost every department of that work. Many of them had been his, and each others', political opponents. But now all political animosities had been buried; all hard feeling if ever cherished had vanished, and all hard things said and done had been, if not forgotten, at least forgiven, and admiration and friendship were the feelings predominant in the breasts of all.

This was an ovation to Gov. Kirkwood that a Bismark and a Gladstone would esteem it the highest honor to receive from a like group of admiring friends.

Among them were men who had served in every General Assembly from the Sixth, when Gov. Kirkwood was first a member, to the Twenty-first, and one who was a member of the Second and one who is now a member of the Twenty-fourth, an ex-judge of the Supreme Court, two judges now on the bench, one ex-governor, one ex-lieutenant governor, four ex-members of Congress, two ex-state auditors, three district judges and one United States' court judge.

Among those who sent letters of regret are numbered an ex-cabinet minister, two ex-governors, an ex-foreign minister, two Supreme Court judges, a United States senator and several who had served in both branches of the General Assembly.

These men with the "boys in blue" who went to the front in the dark and bloody days from '61 to '65, have been the makers of Iowa history for the last thirty-five years, and a brighter page has never been written in the historical records of any state or country, covering a like period of time, than will be written of them and their works by some future historian, to be read with delight by all their posterity.

In his earlier years Gov. Kirkwood did not, as in later times, confine himself wholly to the use of rugged prose, but occasionally wooed and won the gentle muses. At the age of nineteen, being called upon to make a contribution to a young lady's album, he furnished the following:

Lines for an Album; let me see,
What the deuce shall the subject be?
Love? 'Tis hackneyed; Friendship too;
Moonlight, anything but new;
Pangs that despairing lovers feel,
Though they would rend a heart of steel,
Are common, common as the darts
With which sly Cupid strikes the hearts
Of blushing maidens; as the strain
In which fond lovers still complain
When they by fate or rival art
From those they love are forced to part.
Now, I hate all things common; so
I'll choose a subject bran, span new.
But what shall it be? What will suit?
I'll tell you what: My own old boot.

And lest you here exception take
And say that I a "bull" do make
In calling an *old* boot a subject *new*,
I say "at least in poetry 'tis true."

I like an old boot; so does every one
Who has upon his toe a tender corn.
It sits so easy, like a good old friend,
Knows all the tender points, and still will bend
With every motion of the foot, so that
It never presses on, or hurts the toe that
Occasions all your trouble; now a new one
Is harsh, unfeeling, cruel, nay inhuman;
It cramps and pinches you at every turn,
Makes corns to ache and tender joints to burn,
Cripples your step, confines your gait, and so it
Makes you sincerely wish them all in Tophet.
So with some friends; Oh Lord, how I do hate them,
Sans salt and pepper, almost could I eat them.
With lengthened phiz and brow severe they meet
Their hapless *friend*, and thus they do him greet,
(That is when he, by strong temptation rude,
Has swerved from the straight path of rectitude):
"I'm sorry you've not ceased full sway to give
"Unto your passions; you can never thrive
"In the opinion of good men (*like me*)
"Unless you shun these courses. I may say
"Your conduct is unworthy of your name,
"Covers yourself, your kin, your friends with shame;
"At least for them consideration have,

"And all these vices and these follies leave."
 And after having thus your feelings wrought
 Into a state of frenzy, having brought
 The healing wounds of conscience to their first
 Fresh thrilling soreness, lest your heart should burst
 With rage at outraged feelings, they apply
 The ever ready, smiling, treacherous lie:
 "Oh I'm your friend, I hope I'm understood;
 "All I have said is only for your good;
 "I meant not to upbraid; forgive I pray,
 "My bluntness; 'tis with friends my only way."
 Such friends as these, if I my mind may tell—
 I wish were with new boots all safe in ——

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., December 29th, 1834.

Another poem was written in the fervor of youth at New-ville, Ohio, Christmas Day, 1839.

*ON READING THE PETITION OF THE CHARTISTS OF ENGLAND.

What sound comes over the mighty deep?
 Do the fierce wild winds its bosom sweep?
 Is the demon of death from its whirlwind car
 Scattering woe and death afar?
 Whence that deep sound? Does the earthquake's shock,
 Shiver and scatter the mountain and rock,
 The castle of noble and cottage of swain,
 Alike undistinguished afar on the plain?

Louder and clearer it comes again.
 Hark! 'tis the strong, deep shout of men,
 Rising and pealing and swelling around,
 Like the "deep toned thunder's bellowing sound."
 What can it be? Can earth's tyrants dare,
 Once more with their banners taint the air?
 Have the masters again led the slaves forth
 And is it the fearful battle cry?

Hark! Once more on the startled ear
 It rises again distinct and clear;
 But 'tis not the wild tumult of deadly strife,
 Thrilling the hearts of maiden and wife.
 What can it be? Do I hear aright—

*Chartism was a political movement, in Great Britain, from 1835 to 1850. The people through a "charter," in 1836, demanded universal male suffrage, equal representation, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, etc.

"The slaves have arisen in Freedom's might."

Is it, Great God! Oh can it be!

Hark again to that shout, "We will be free."

It comes from the land whence sprang our sires,
Whose hands first kindled those beacon fires
Whose broad, bright light, by the blessing of Heaven,
Now reaches the land from which they were driven;
Has dispelled the deep darkness by tyranny cast
O'er the souls of men in times long past.
God grant that its beamings may brighten and spread,
'Till no slave stains the earth with his desolate tread.

They will—aye, they must; for that fire from above,
While fed with the patriot's devotion and love,
Neither princes of earth nor the powers of Hell
Its light or its increase can darken or quell.
It will stream to the sky; 'twill encircle the earth,
'Twill blaze on the altar, 'twill cheer the rude hearth,
God's mockers, Earth's Kings, from their proud seats be hurl'd,
And Freedom's fair sunbeam will gladden the world.



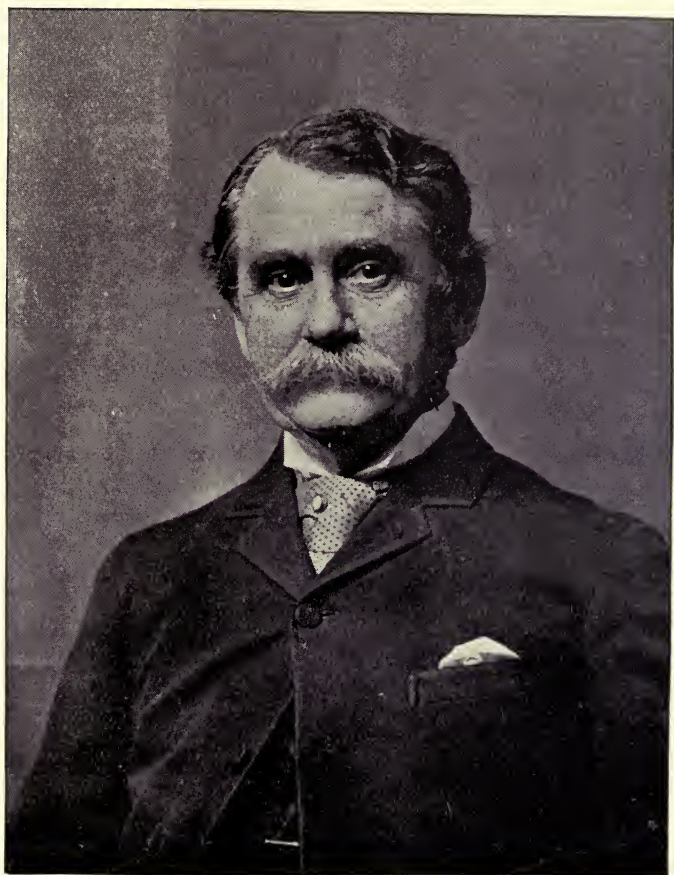
CHAPTER XXIII.

Portrait of Gov. Kirkwood—Mr. Yewell—Speeches by ex-Gov. Gear—Hon. Peter A. Dey—Gov. Boies and Others—Letter from ex-Gov. Carpenter.

During the session of the General Assembly in the winter of 1892, in a casual conversation between Hon. Peter A. Dey and Hon. Chas. Aldrich, the remark was made by one of those gentlemen that it would be a very handsome thing for the Legislature then in session to make an appropriation to have a first-class portrait of Gov. Kirkwood painted to occupy a place on the wall of the executive office in the Capitol.

To initiate and bring the plan to public notice, as well as to the attention of the members of the Legislature, Mr. Aldrich caused to be inserted in the *Des Moines Register*, an article expressing the desirability of having such a work done. A mere hint on the subject was enough to set the ball in motion. As soon as the subject was brought to the attention of the committee of appropriations in the Senate, a bill was introduced making an appropriation for that purpose and it passed both houses with but six of the hundred and fifty members voting against it.

As the selection of the person to paint this portrait was left with Governor Boies, he did a very proper thing in selecting George H. Yewell. Mr. Yewell as an artist is one of Iowa's spontaneous products. Commencing his self-taught lessons in his very boyhood, the fly leaves, blank spaces and the margins of the leaves of his early school books were bedecked with the delineations of his pencil and brush, and they betokened him then a promising genius in that line of work.



Geo. S. G. M. L.

In his early efforts he evinced the rare faculty of photographing on his own mind the features of his subjects at a casual glance, and of transfixing them upon his canvass without requiring from them a sitting for that purpose.

Some of his early productions which he called "charcoal sketches," made several decades ago, are now treasured among the collections of the State Historical Society as marks of his early promise and as correct delineations of the persons and events they represent.

Mr. Yewell spent considerable time during the summer of 1892 in Iowa City, the home of his boyhood, and Gov. Kirkwood sat for his picture in the little office at his own home that contained his library and where he had prepared many of his best State papers. The painting received its finishing touches in Mr. Yewell's studio in New York City, and when completed it was sent to Iowa City and was exhibited for a couple of weeks in the rooms of Close Hall, where it was seen by Gov. Kirkwood's old friends and neighbors who had known him for a third of a century and who pronounced it a perfect likeness of him whom they had known so long and so well.

The presentation of the portrait to the Governor of the State took place on the 20th of June. An account of the ceremonies attending it is copied from the *Des Moines Register*:

Upon the occasion of the unveiling there was a notable assemblage of distinguished men of the State and the municipal officers of the city. The unveiling occurred in the reception parlor of the Governor of the State.

The scene presented in that large, spacious room, as Judge Wright rose to call the meeting to order, was one of the most imposing ever seen in Iowa's proud capitol. In a deep mahogany chair in the center of the room, at one end of a large table, sat Horace Boies, Governor of Iowa. At the opposite end sat the Hon. Peter A. Dey, while to one side of the table was stationed Judge Wright, and to his right was ex-Governor Gear. Around the room was an assemblage which could not but fill a visitor's heart with veneration.

There were gathered men who have lived in Iowa for years; have

watched its growth and development into one of the foremost States of the Union and have grown gray in its service, and here were they met on a beautiful afternoon to pronounce eulogies on a man who has done for his State more than any other, a man with whom they were all personally acquainted, who was at his home in Iowa City, too feeble to be in attendance to hear the words of praise which his old associates were about to bestow upon him.

In the assemblage sat men who had it in their power to unfold volumes of history never yet written. Nearly all had spent more or less time in the service of the State, and Governor Kirkwood would truly have felt honored had he been there to see and to hear the men who had come to do him honor.

Promptly at 2:30 o'clock Judge Wright arose and announced the purpose of the meeting. Peter A. Dey, of Iowa City, was introduced. Mr. Dey rose from his chair and moved to the side of the room beneath the picture of Governor Kirkwood, which hung on the wall, veiled with the stars and stripes. Governor Boies stood while Mr. Dey spoke the following:

Governor Boies:—I have accepted with more than ordinary satisfaction the invitation of the committee in charge of the exercises of this day, to represent the artist and present his work for your approval.

For nearly forty years I have known Mr. Yewell intimately, have sympathized with him in his struggles for professional attainment and rejoiced in his success. I have known Governor Kirkwood almost as long, but of him it is not my purpose to speak, as others will tell you that in the period of greatest danger to the nation, largely through his efforts, every call upon the State of Iowa was honored and every obligation discharged. On this occasion I may without impropriety say something of the artist.

In 1841 there came to the newly selected capital of the Territory of Iowa, a widow with her young son, brought to this new country in the hope that in some way the struggle of life might be less arduous than in the older States. Time passed on, the boy grew and entered cheerfully the life of toil and labor that seemed to await him; in the intervals of leisure he developed a taste for sketching and found among the incidents of pioneer life much to amuse and interest the early settler. With charcoal, pencil and brush he delineated the peculiarities of the men around him; whatever interested them, whether of local character or matters of legislative interest, he treated with humor and skill and struck a vein that gave him a local and even a state reputation.

His pictures were crude but conceived in a spirit that made the subject even of ridicule enjoy them and join in admiration of the boy cartoonist. They finally attracted the attention of Charles Mason, one of the judges of the Supreme Court, who furnished him the means to procure instruction such as could be had in New York. Later he went

abroad, spent years in France, Italy and Germany. While in Europe he devoted time to pictures in which were faces and figures, bringing out to a great extent peculiarities, passions and emotions. He also paid a great deal of attention to painting the interiors of churches and other buildings; possibly in this line of art he had few, if any, superiors. A few years ago he returned to this country and since then has devoted himself largely to portrait painting. In the maturity of his powers and the ripeness of his genius he paid the debt of gratitude in the portrait of Judge Mason, which, perhaps, next to this, is the most characteristic of all his portraits. It is not merely a likeness, but embodies the man who extended to the struggling boy the helping hand.

The portraits of Professor Parvin in the State library, of Judges Wright and Dillon in the Supreme Court room, of Governors Chambers and Lowe and of General Dodge in this room, are the work of his later years. To the portrait before us, the head and face of which he regards as artistically the great success of his life, he has devoted time and study. From the intimate acquaintance of long years, profoundly impressed with the massive strength of character and at the same time warm hearted nature of Governor Kirkwood, this portrait has been a labor of love.

It is said that the great value of Trumbull's paintings in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, is that he knew intimately the men he painted and transferred their characters to the canvas. Stuart's great picture of Washington, that for nearly a century has been in every home in the land, whether in the finest steel engraving that ornaments the walls of the wealthy or the crude lithograph in the humblest home, is always the same face, represents the same man, and why? Because the artist has so thoroughly impressed the character of the man upon the canvas that we never fail to recognize it, and feel that Washington must have been as he was painted as no other head or face would fit him. It may be that our children and our children's children will recall the War Governor of Iowa from engravings that in the coming years will hang on the walls of the homes of our people, copies of the painting which we this day unveil, and will then say as we say now, it must be perfect for no other head and face would fit our ideal of the man.

I feel that I am committing no breach of confidence when I give you the artist's own language in a letter never intended for the public: "I regard the head and face purely as a work of art, in many respects the best I have ever painted. I have endeavored to paint Governor Kirkwood as I knew him, a strong man with a face of great power and determined will, at the same time full of tenderness and sympathy." How well he measured the man you who are his old and tried friends know as well as I. How well he has succeeded in impressing this delineation of character upon the canvas, it is for you to judge.

In the name of the artist, George H. Yewell, I present to your excellency this picture and ask you if the contract for painting the portrait of Governor Kirkwood has been satisfactorily executed.

As Mr. Dey concluded, the stars and stripes, which concealed the features of Samuel J. Kirkwood from view, were removed amidst general applause, and the new painting stood forth with a wonderful reality. It was seen at a glance to be a magnificent work of art. There was a strength and dignity, yet an air of kindliness about the face which impressed every person in the room at once. There was an expression of character and individuality portrayed in the features which impressed all at once that the picture was the work of a great artist. It is truly a beautiful likeness of the character and the man it attempts to reproduce. Governor Boies in accepting it spoke these words:

Sir:—In accepting for the State from your hands, as the agent of the artist whose work it is, this portrait of one of Iowa's most distinguished citizens, I am called upon to perform a duty gratefully imposed by a generous people and most cheerfully assumed by myself.

The occasion makes appropriate a brief reference to certain historical facts which in this connection will not fail to be of interest to the general public.

Governor Kirkwood, whose likeness you present, was born in the State of Maryland, December 20th, 1813, and although an old man now is still blessed with mental and physical vigor becoming his age, and lives in his old home in Johnson county, surrounded by friends and neighbors to whom he is endeared by a long life of most upright and manly dealing in all the affairs of men with which he has been connected.

He was educated as a lawyer and for a time practiced his chosen profession in his then adopted State of Ohio.

From there he removed to Iowa in 1855, and soon after becoming a citizen of the State entered public life, being elected a member of the state senate in 1856, Governor of the State in 1859 and again in 1861. In 1863 he was tendered by President Lincoln the appointment of Minister to Denmark, but declined the position. In 1866 he was elected United States Senator from this State to fill the unexpired term of Senator Harlan. In 1875 he was again elected Governor of Iowa, and the year following resigned the office to accept that of United States Senator, to which place he had been again elected. In 1881 he resigned his seat in the Senate to accept a position in the Cabinet of President Garfield, and from that position he voluntarily retired in 1882 to resume his place as a private citizen and rest from the toil of a long, laborious and most honorable public career.

Once elected to the Senate of his State, three times its Governor, and twice its Representative in the Senate of the United States, it is, I

believe, no exaggeration of fact to say that Iowa has never honored any other citizen with so many and such important places of public trust, and it is certainly true that no servant of hers ever acquitted himself in the discharge of his official duties with more perfect fidelity to all her interests or with more marked intelligence in the work that fell to his lot.

It was, therefore, a most fitting expression of the gratitude of the State he had served so long and so well when our last legislature appropriated a sum sufficient to secure and preserve this splendid likeness of the man whose life work is so intimately interwoven in the most important as well as the most honorable period in all its history.

Under the provisions of that act it was made my duty to select an artist to perform the work proposed.

With the aid of friends of the Governor I was fortunate enough to secure the services of Mr. Yewell, now of New York, but formerly a citizen of Iowa and an old time friend of the honored subject whose portrait he was to paint.

It is not too much for me to say that the artist has been faithful to the most exacting degree in the performance of the trust confided to him and has succeeded in producing a likeness that cannot fail to please every citizen of Iowa who now, or in the long years to come may be able to see and admire his work.

After Governor Boies had concluded, Judge Wright said he would take the privilege of calling upon any one who was present to speak, in view of the nature of the meeting for which they had come together. He then called upon Governor Gear, who spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I am glad that I am here to join you in doing honor to one of the most distinguished men of our State. I regret that my colleagues, the ex-Governors of the State, are from various causes unable to be here to-day, and I much regret that by the infirmities of his great age, that we are deprived of the pleasure of Governor Kirkwood's presence.

We have assembled here to do honor to the man who during his long residence in Iowa has impressed himself on the people of our State as no other man has.

Mr. Yewell has done his work well, and the portrait just unveiled is not only a great work of art, but to us who know Governor Kirkwood well, it is a splendid picture not only in its physical likeness, but the artist has also thoroughly portrayed his mental characteristics, which is the highest evidence of art.

Coming to Iowa in the early fifties, he settled in Johnson County, where he made his home. His friends, recognizing his ability, soon called on him to serve them in the Legislature. He was elected to the Senate as a member of the Seventh and Eighth General Assemblies. He at once took high rank in that body which had in its membership

many of the able men of the State. At that time the question of establishing a State bank under the new constitution, which had recently been adopted, was a prominent one. Governor Kirkwood drafted and the Assembly enacted the law establishing the State Bank of Iowa, a bank which through all the hard times of 1857-60 stood solid as a rock, redeeming its issues in gold. Called by the people of the State to be its chief magistrate at a critical time in the nation's history, he met the responsibilities of the hour. When President Lincoln issued the call for the first 75,000 men, Governor Kirkwood at once called the Legislature together in special session. His proclamation was a patriotic document and struck the loyal chord of the hearts of the people of Iowa. How Iowa responded illumines a bright page in the history of our loved State.

At the outbreak of the war, the national government was bankrupt and it fell on Governor Kirkwood, by his personal efforts, to raise funds to equip the State's first regiments. To do this, he called on the State banks of Iowa; he and a few of his friends became personally responsible for more money than they were really able to pay in order that Iowa's regiments might be equipped and sent to the front to bear their part in defending the nation's honor. The State banks promptly responded to his call. During the first three years of the war, he gave his time, day and night, to the duty of raising the State's quota of troops. He was wise and a rare judge of men, and his appointment of the officers of the Iowa regiments gives proof of his high qualities in these regards. He made constant trips to the field of war and gave much of his time to the aid and comfort of the soldiers. Childless himself, all Iowa soldiers were "his boys." He never was known to turn a deaf ear to an Iowa soldier. I was in his office one morning at Washington City when he filled the high office of Secretary of the Interior. There were present senators, members of Congress and governors of states, all awaiting their turn to transact their business. The door opened and an Iowa soldier whom the Governor knew, came in supporting himself on a crutch and cane. Kirkwood at once rose and gave him a seat. Turning aside from those present he inquired, "What can I do for you?"

A senator who was waiting, a gentleman of more than national reputation, said to me, "Gear, what kind of a man is Kirkwood who turns away from all of us to talk to that old soldier?" I replied, "Senator, Governor Kirkwood considers all Iowa soldiers as his boys and they in turn look to him as a father."

Again as a United States Senator he served the State and nation with distinguished ability. He had a logical and legal mind, and was, in fact, a great constitutional lawyer, and in this branch of Congress he had ample opportunity to display his great abilities as a lawyer. He was a member of the Judiciary Committee of which Roscoe Conk-

ling was chairman, and on one occasion an important question involving constitutional law was under debate. Governor Kirkwood made a speech in which he electrified the Senate. A Senator said to Roscoe Conkling, "Conkling, whoever knew that Kirkwood of Iowa was so strong a lawyer?" Conkling replied, "When Kirkwood gets up and shakes the wrinkles out of his clothes, he knows as much constitutional law as any man on the floor of the Senate,"—well merited praise from one who was himself one of the greatest lawyers of the nation. Governor Kirkwood's name will be handed down in history with John A. Andrew, Andrew J. Curtin and Oliver P. Morton as one among the trusted advisers of President Lincoln during the Civil War.

Kirkwood was able, wise and sagacious, and, above all, he was truthful and honest. On the stump he was a tower of strength to his party, giving hard blows to the opposition, but never descending to demagogism. As an orator he was powerful in the fact that his language was simple and his similes homely, and always struck the chords of the hearts of his audience.

In his career as a public man he commanded the admiration, awe, more, the affection, of his party, and enjoyed in an eminent degree the respect of the opposition.

It has been well said that "the affections of the people of Iowa, like the rivers which form her borders, flow to a perpetual union"—of this Iowa gave splendid proof under Kirkwood's administration, and to-day in his advanced age, infirm in body, but thank God, vigorous in mind, it can be truly said that the affections of Iowa's people cluster around him as around no other man, and we all join in the hearty wish that "his days may be long in the land."

Sir, there are three gentlemen in this room besides myself, who are pioneers of the State, all of whom have known all the Governors of Iowa, and without disparagement either to my distinguished predecessors or successors, I do not hesitate to say that in the record he has made he has impressed himself on the people as has no other Governor.

Sir, when the generations of the future people of Iowa shall visit this noble edifice and shall witness the portraits of our distinguished citizens hanging on these walls and shall point to this triumph of artistic skill and ask whose likeness it is, the reply will be, "Samuel J. Kirkwood." From the lips of every inquirer will come spontaneously, "Yes, Samuel J. Kirkwood, Iowa's 'great War Governor.'"

Hon. H. W. Lathrop being called upon, spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Friends of Gov. Kirkwood:—If there is anything of which Iowans are proud, it is the financial standing of the State, she being free from debt, and the fact that her per cent. of illiteracy is the smallest of any state in the Union.

No man in the State has done more to bring about these conditions than Governor Kirkwood. During the first eighteen years of her

political existence, Iowa was without a banking system. At the second session of Governor Kirkwood's service as State Senator, and the first session of the General Assembly under the then New Constitution permitting banking, on account of his superior knowledge on the subject he was added as a special member to the committee on Banks, much of that knowledge having been obtained a few years previously when a member of the Ohio Constitutional Convention, where the subject of banking was ably and fully discussed.

At this session he was among the foremost in the advocacy of the passage of the bill providing for a State Bank and its branches. It proved to be one of the best systems ever established, and it furnished the people a safe and sound currency.

As president of one of its branches he assisted in its administration.

As Governor he afterwards vetoed a bill passed by the General Assembly, providing for the establishment of a banking system that would have opened wide a door for "wild cat" banking.

When at the special session of the General Assembly in 1861, bonds to the amount of \$800,000 were voted to carry on the war, he took special pains to see that those bonds should not be thrown upon the market and sold at a depreciated price, sending Hon. Ezekiel Clark to New York for that purpose, with instructions to buy at a good fair price the first offered on the Stock Board, in order to fix their market value. This purchase did fix their value, and at that rate they were afterwards disposed of. By this plan, and his economical administration of the Governor's office only three-eighths of the bonds voted were ever used.

In our educational system he has filled the various offices of Member of the Board of Regents of the State University, Member of the Board of Trustees of the State Agricultural College, one of the Curators of the State Historical Society, and a large contributor to its collections, being also its President, Sub-Director in his school district and President of the Township Board, and all these offices received his best, most earnest and intelligent labors in their administration.

When filling national offices he never got the credit his merit entitled him to, for he was always handicapped with short terms, preventing him from getting that official momentum by long experience in them, so essential to success in the performance of duties connected with them.

Though filling the office of Secretary of the Interior in Garfield's Cabinet less than fourteen months, he stamped upon the Indian Bureau the policy of detribalizing the Indians, allotting to them their lands in severalty, with a title to them in fee, and recommending that they be educated and brought into citizenship.

Though not permitted to hold the office long enough to give his

policy full force and effect, it has to a considerable extent been endorsed by his successors.

Mr. Lathrop gave an epitome of the Art Life of Mr. Yewell detailing some of his early efforts as a juvenile artist.

Mr. Charles Aldrich next read the letter printed below, from ex-Governor Carpenter:

FORT DODGE, IOWA, June 16, 1893.

Hon. Charles Aldrich,

Des Moines, Iowa.

MY DEAR SIR:—I received the invitation to be present on the 20th inst. to participate in the ceremony of unveiling the great historic portrait of ex-Governor Kirkwood. I had delayed answering because I had hoped to shape matters so as to be able to come, but within the last day or two I have found that engagements which I can neither avoid or postpone, will prevent me from being present. I deeply regret this, as nothing would afford me greater pleasure than to join with others in giving expression to the public estimate of Samuel J. Kirkwood. I well remember in 1861, when it fully dawned upon me that free government must be surrendered on this continent or the inevitable alternative of civil war must be accepted, that I began to consider whether the President would receive the loyal and undivided support of the various Governors of the states adhering to the Union. I know that under our form of government, accordingly as the Governors of the loyal states gave the President active, earnest and enthusiastic support, or, on the other hand, as it might be possible for them to quibble and hesitate with half-hearted sympathy, the cause of the Union would be advanced or retarded. I had known Governor Kirkwood whilst he was a senator in the Seventh General Assembly; I had watched his career as Governor; had read with pride and satisfaction his correspondence relative to the surrender of Coppel upon the requisition of the Governor of Virginia; and I was satisfied that in him the government would find a brave, resolute and uncompromising defender. It has been a source of pride in my State—in its patriotism and intelligence—that his subsequent career was a fulfillment of my prophecy respecting him.

What a group of historic characters the Governors of the loyal states in these times which tried men's souls, would make. There was Yates, of Illinois; and Ramsey, of Minnesota; and Harvey, of Wisconsin; and Blair, of Michigan; and Morton, of Indiana; and Denison, of Ohio; and Curtin, of Pennsylvania; and Morgan, of New York; Buckingham, of Connecticut, and finally side by side stood Massachusetts and Iowa in the advanced thought and unyielding purpose of their populations, and in the sturdy patriotism and defiant resolution of their Governors, John A. Andrew and Samuel J. Kirkwood. This

galaxy of names brightens the luster of the heroic age in which they lived.

Let the portrait of Governor Kirkwood be placed where it will receive the kindest light from the sun in the heavens, and where the first glances of the eyes of his admiring countrymen will fall upon it as they enter the executive chamber.

Yours, very sincerely,

C. C. CARPENTER.

Letters were also received from Judge G. S. Robinson, of Iowa City, and Alvin Saunders, of Omaha.

Judge Cole made a brief and forcible address. "I met Samuel J. Kirkwood thirty-six years ago and know him best in a political way. The keynote to his greatness, and he is great, is that he always had a flood of internal light to shed on any question. He was not full of quotations. They were wonderful, original arguments of his own construction. It was this wonderful readiness and great mental power and capacity that enabled him to always respond. He was great because God made him great."

Judge Nourse next said a few words, speaking of the value to posterity of such a picture, of Governor Kirkwood's sincerity as a man and ability as a statesman. Judge Wright brought the meeting to an end with a few remarks, thanking Governor Boies on behalf of the friends of Governor Kirkwood and the entire State for the way in which he had carried out the instructions of the last legislature in regard to purchasing such a portrait.

[THE END.]

INDEX...

	PAGE.
Ancestry.....	7
Assessor in the County.....	18
Assistant in Clerk's Office.....	20
Admitted to the Bar.....	21
Abolitionists.....	42
Agricultural College.....	100
Allison, Wm. B., Staff Officer.....	128
Letter.....	279
Aldrich, Charles.....	205-206, 464, 473
Administration, Kirkwood.....	279
Boys in the Home.....	12
Baker & Boland Murder Trial.....	23
Burns, Barnabas.....	24
Banquet.....	25
Byington & Kirkwood.....	101
Board Commissioners.....	129
Baker, James.....	129
Bonds Advertised—Offered—Sold.....	129
Destroyed.....	130
Amount.....	169
Baldwin, Caleb.....	135
Brainerd, N. H., Military Sec'y.....	140
Baker, N. B., Adjut. Gen.....	145, 162, 204, 207, 276
Brigadiers Dodge, Perczel, Crocker, Elliott.....	177, 180, 214
Breastpins, Butternut.....	240
Blaine & Finkbine.....	347
Belknap Letter.....	395
Boies, Governor.....	464, 466
Clark, G. Kirkwood.....	284
Clerk in Drug Store.....	14-15
Clerk in Store and Hotel.....	19
Cases prepared.....	21
Cases tried.....	22
Constitutional Convention.....	26
Speeches.....	26 to 33
Clark, Ezekiel.....	37, 46, 119, 129
Cole, S. W.....	60
Coppoc, Barclay.....	88
Message.....	89
Clark, Rush, On Staff.....	128
His Death.....	364
Commissioners to Issue Bonds.....	129
Clothing for Soldiers.....	181

Clark, Lincoln.....	441
Coolbaugh, W. F.....	144
Crocker Col. M. M.....	214
"Cold Victuals," "Old Clothes" and "Votes".....	328
Dred Scott Decision.....	63
Dodge, Augustus Cæsar.....	68
Dodge, G. M.....	136, 166, 180, 281
Donelson, News of Battle of.....	205
Banquet.....	205
Draft.....	230
Dubuque, Speech at.....	265
Dutcher, Speech.....	419
Dey, Peter A.....	464, 466
Early Education Kirkwood's.....	13
Edwards, Col. John.....	166
Edmunds, Geo. F., Letter of.....	413
Farm Tools.....	10
Farm of Clark & Kirkwood.....	39
Farmer and Miller.....	39
Fisher, Maturin L.....	142
Freemont, Gen'l.....	203
Finkbine & Blaine.....	347
Gear, Jno. H.....	364, 469
Gold Hunters.....	35
Grimes, Jas. W., for Governor.....	42, 47, 55, 57, 61
Goes to Washington.....	120
General Assembly, The Seventh.....	63
Its Make-up.....	64
Banquet.....	66
Governor of Virginia.....	96
Graves, J. K.....	127
Governor's Staff.....	128
Golden Circle, Knights of.....	240
Grant, Gen., Letter to.....	244
Toast to.....	398
Governor's Aids.....	280
Garfield, Jas. G., Meeting in New York.....	406
His Estimate of Kirkwood.....	406
Death of and Change in Cabinet.....	414
Harlan, Jas.....	53
Hard Times in 1857-8.....	84
Hall, J. C.....	137
Hubbard, A. W.....	163, 168, 170
Hill, Senator of Georgia.....	361
Immigration.....	35
Inaugural Address.....	73, 193, 331
Ingham, S. R.....	130, 173, 174
Indians.....	169
Depredations of.....	170-171
In Minnesota.....	172
Indian Policy.....	408, 424

	PAGE.
Indiana, Speeches in.....	367
Iowa Soldiers, by H. L. Wilcox.....	444
Kirkwood, Mrs. S. J.....	416
Kirkwood, Clerk, Letters to	284
Knights of Golden Circle.....	240
Kasson, John A.....	86
Kirkwoods, The.....	9
Profs. Daniel, Wm. R., Samuel J.....	9
Kirkwood, Robert.....	8-9
Kirkwood, Jabez, Farmer and Blacksmith.....	10
Kirkwood, Samuel Jordan, Teacher School.....	14
Finishes His Education.....	15
Farmer and Miller.....	39
Attends Republican Convention.....	46
Chosen Senator.....	47
Speeches in Senate.....	50
Historical Society.....	54
Stumps the State with Grimes; They Speak in Borrowed Clothes.....	59
Favors Grimes for Senator; Nominated for Governor.....	67
Canvasses the State with Dodge.....	71
"Rides in State" Behind Two Yoke of Oxen.....	72
Attends the National Convention; Supports Mr. Lincoln....	87
Kirkwood and Byington.....	101
Invited to Speak at His Old in Ohio.....	103
Congratulates Mr Lincoln.....	104
Interviews Him at His Home.....	105
Attends His Inauguration.....	108
Letter to Grimes.....	108
To Governor of Maryland.....	109
To Harlan, Grimes, Curtis and Vandevere.....	109
Gets a Telegram from the President.....	114
Not a Mil tary Man.....	116
Letters Written.....	140
Goes to Washington.....	141
Gets Discouraged.....	142
Renominated.....	142
Makes a Political Speech.....	146
Three Wars on His Hands.....	167
Writes the President.....	177, 267
Letter to Colonels After Battle of Corinth.....	233
Chosen Senator; His Competitors.....	287
Funeral Oration, Lincoln.....	293
Again Nominated for Governor.....	303
Reluctantly Accepts.....	305
Takes the Stump and Canvasses the State.....	306
Elected, 30,000 Majority.....	331
Again Chosen Senator.....	344
His Reception at Home.....	345
His Great Speech in the Senate.....	347
As a Stump Sp aker.....	378
Decoration Day Speech.....	380
Striking the Word "white" from the Constitution.....	394
Secretary of Interior; as a Cabinet Minister.....	414, 415
Bank President.....	416

	PAGE
Kirkwood, Samuel Jordan, Visits California and Oregon.....	417
An After Dinner Speech.....	417
For Blaine in 1884.....	422
Nominated for Congress.....	428
Letter of Acceptance.....	428
Speech at Davenport.....	433
His Character as a Speaker.....	441
Blaine's Estimate of Him.....	442
Statesman Rather than Politician.....	446
A Surprise Party.....	447
As a Poet.....	461
Literary Society.....	14
Lowe, Gov. R. P.....	62
Lincoln, Abraham, at Council Bluffs.....	72
Funeral Oration.....	293
Letter to.....	215
Lyon, Gen.....	117
Legislature, Extra Sessions.....	120, 220
Loyal Governors.....	227
Logan, Gen., Letter to.....	244
Lewis, Geo. W.....	416
McLeon, Kirkwood's Teacher.....	13
Moves to Ohio.....	16
Marriage.....	22
Murder Trial.....	23
Mill.....	38
Meeting in Davenport.....	115
Messages.....	120, 131, 132, 182, 220, 224, 270
Mason Charles.....	129, 143, 144, 263
Merritt, Col.....	144
Minister to Denmark.....	276
Negus, Charles.....	249
Negro Soldiers.....	258
Practices Law.....	21
Partnership.....	21, 24
Prosecuting Attorney.....	22
Political Parties.....	41
Presidential Election.....	100
Proclamations.....	114, 161, 176, 216, 218, 232, 238
Price, Hiram.....	119, 163, 411, 432
Platform, Republican.....	142
Democratic.....	143
Prisoner Pardoned.....	342
Poetry.....	461
Portrait.....	464-465
Republican Convention, Call for.....	43
Its Make-up.....	44
Kirkwood attends and speaks.....	46
Republicans successful in 1856, but Democrats in 1857.....	57
Railroad Prediction.....	84
Bonds by Counties.....	300
Regiment is called for, four offered.....	116

	PAGE.
School House on the Farm.....	13
Studies Law.....	20
Sells Flour on Credit.....	39
"Sam Kirkwood the Miller".....	40
State, its growth.....	63, 67
Spirit Lake Massacre.....	87
Sumpter Fired on.....	113
Soldiers, Their Pay.....	118
Smith, Wm. T.....	127
Southern Border.....	165, 167, 128
Staff Officers.....	128
Sanders, Add H.....	215, 128
Smyth, Wm.....	129
Slagle, C. W.....	129
Sipple, W. C., Letter to.....	163
Second Iowa, Its Flag Disgraced.....	209
Disgrace wiped out.....	209
Sick Soldiers.....	235
Senator again.....	344
Speech in Senate, comments by N. Y. Tribune, Dubuque Herald and Georgia Tribune.....	362
"Surprise Party".....	447
Sherman, Gov. B. R.....	447
Teacher, School.....	14-18
Troops tendered early.....	112
Called for.....	113
Telegram from President.....	114
"Twins," one Company too many.....	217
Tally War.....	244
Third Term Governor.....	304
Veto Message.....	98
Votes for President.....	104
Vicksburg, Fall of—Letter to Soldiers—To Gen. Grant.....	243
Vance & Kirkwood.....	366
Voorhees, Senator, on Kirkwood.....	407
Whigs and Abolitionists.....	43
"Wild Cat" Banks.....	62, 84
Wilson, Jonathan.....	72
War and Defense Fund.....	128-129, 143
Women make Soldiers Clothing.....	131
Washburne, Governor of Maine, Letter to.....	180
Wilcox, Hon. Henry L.....	444
Wright, Geo. G.....	305, 449, 466
Wright, Gen. Ed.....	305
Yewell, Geo. H.....	464-465-466

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE.
Governor and Mrs. Kirkwood, Frontispiece.	
Birth Place.....	10
A. C. Dodge.....	68
E. Clark.....	118
C. Baldwin.....	134
S. R. Ingham.....	173
N. B. Baker.....	207
S. Kirkwood Clark.....	284
G. M. Dodge.....	281
Hiram Price.....	411
Residence.....	447
Geo. H. Yewell.....	465



2. - Speech in House - 12
3. - Speech in House - 12
4. - Or. Wagon - 12
5. - Minister's Office - 14
6. - Speech in Senate - 301
7. - Vance on - 364. Vance's Parents sleeping
8. - Form - 421

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